

INSIDE: The battle to sell more beer

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SEPTEMBER 9, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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SPECIAL REPORT

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SEPTEMBER 9, 1986 VOL. 18 NO. 36



A nation on the brink

As the death toll in South Africa climbed and currency lost value, worried businessmen called for dialogue between Pretoria's leaders and blacks.

—Page 22



In transit and concert

Singer, actress and son Elton John Zuckers will perform in concert in Toronto at the end of September and later at the Pyramids in Giza, near Cairo.

—Page 31

COVER

The Tories' hasty stocktaking

A year after Canadians swept Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative Party to power, the government's popularity is in steep decline among a disaffected electorate. Critics say that Mulroney is poorly served by advisers who insulate him from reality, and they are appalled by the government's record of mistakes and missed opportunities.

—Page 8

COVER PHOTO BY GARY HARRIS



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The bubbling beer battle

The upstart breweries' beer advertisements hint the bitter struggle under way among Canada's three major breweries for a share of a shrinking market.

—Page 10



An appetite for murder

Quebec's parish crime press is a lively presence on the province's cultural landscape, as well as a major influence on the evolution of the press.

—Page 49

Understanding labor

Reporting Dean Cohen's Aug. 18 column, "Future shock in organized labor," to understand the labor movement you have to have been two things—a worker or salary earner and someone who has committed part of his life to the labor movement, the latter usually for no pay. While Cohen is obviously not in the "both" category, she does a fair job of outlining the problems facing labor and society. However, she fails to understand that the union movement has for some time not only identified these problems but has put forth solutions to them.

—RON KATZ, President,
Local 7335,
United Steelworkers of America,
Buckhorn

The debate about drugs

After Petheringham's June 29 column "Drugging guinea pigs for the CIA" repeats much of the misinformation that has characterized media treatment in this case. There was nothing secret about Dr. Cameron's treatment methods; they were extensively publicized and widely known to the medical community. In fact, he developed his methods independently and years before any U.S. involvement. The U.S. contribution did not prompt his research nor did his research terminate when U.S. funding ended. The CIA provided a relatively small amount of money to Cameron's program over a relatively short time in contrast to far more substantial funding from Canadian sources. The CIA never influenced or directed Cameron's actions in any manner whatsoever and certainly does not admit guilt, as the



Morton Keller: freedom to speak

column asserts. I also note that the author's linkage of CIA funding to Mrs. Orloff's treatment is greatly misleading. Orloff received the hospital and received LSD treatment well before any CIA funds were provided to Cameron's program. Moreover, records indicate that Orloff received no LSD therapy during the period when the CIA contributed to funding of Cameron's program.

—ROBERT J. MONTGOMERY JR.,
Counselor of Embassy
for Political Affairs,
Embassy of the United States,
Ottawa

Cameron's stands by its colonists

Reconciling the differences

Referring to those who oppose the Margulies abortion clinics ("Protecting abortion," *National News*, Aug. 15-17) is a frustrating thing to become very strongly in an idea, or a value, to find others whose values are not the same and to be unable to sway them. However, when freedom to speak does not bring about the changes one seeks, there is no justification for breaking another man's arm to prove a point or for attempting "intense pressure" against those who hold opposing views. Efforts should be directed at raising funds and consciousness where they are most needed: birth control clinics, awareness programs, teen drop-in centers and homes for pregnant teenagers.

—LEONA BLACK,
London, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Staff correspondents in London in the *Kaiser* Magazine's magazine, *Maclean's* Fraser Valley, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES

1966: Veteran TV actor Paul Douglas, 68, who played the consummate straightman in *Johnny Wayne* and *Frank Skelton* in their appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show* and in their CBS arrivals over the past 30 years, after suffering a heart attack, in Toronto.

1980: World-famous peace figure Sreemathi Smith, 12, who visited the Soviet Union in 1985 as a guest of its former leader Yuri Andropov after she wrote to him about her nuclear war fears, in a plane crash that killed eight people including her father, Arthur, near Auburn, Me. A schoolgirl whose interest in world peace endeared her to a multitude of admirers around the world, Smith was scheduled to appear on a TV drama with Robert Wagner and Jill St. John in the fall, a project that would have marked the beginning of an acting career.

1967: Actress, writer and bus vivand. *Shari Gordon*, 58, whose mild role in the 1968 movie *Woman's Body* introduced her to a generation of navigators that had missed her rise to fame in the 1930s and 1940s, in her sleep, at her summer home in Martha's Vineyard. The child-actress, five-foot actress conquered the Broadway stage in the 1930s and became a film star in the 1940s.

1968: Former *Montreal Star* editor in chief Frank Walker, 68, who turned the now-defunct daily newspaper into a major English-language paper in Quebec during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, of a heart attack, in his Montreal home. Walker began his newspaper career at 19 with the *Montreal Free Press*, where he quickly moved from junior to reporter under the guidance of the renowned editor, John Dufresne. After serving as a war correspondent in Europe during the Second World War, he moved to Montreal in 1960 to become the editor of the then-owned *Montreal Herald*. He became editor of the *Star* in 1963 and was editor in chief from 1968 until it ceased publication in 1979.

1967: Journalist Mark Clark, 58, who held posts as senior correspondent and as bureau chief for *Time* magazine in several locations around the world including Ottawa in the 1960s, of cancer, at his home in Johannesburg.

1967: Man-of-letters Radl Book, 58, who is credited with renewing public interest in such museums as *Enslaved House* and in the music of Scott Joplin in the 1930s when he was largely forgotten, after suffering a stroke, in Gilmanton, N.H. Among Book's writings is *They All Played Ragtime*.

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A holdup on harassment

It was a victory hailed by feminists across Canada. On Aug. 1, 1984, a tribunal appointed by the Canadian Human Rights Commission ruled that Mr. Allister MacInnis, who had just finished serving as parliamentary secretary to Justice Minister Mack MacGaughey, had sexually harassed Kristin Potapchuk, his former special assistant. Broadening the definition of harassment significantly, the tribunal ruled that the 36-year-old woman had never accused her former employer of overt sexual demands. He had simply leered and placed himself "unconsciously close," creating what the tribunal called an "oppressive" work environment. But one year later Potapchuk's victory has gone sour. She owes \$25,000 in legal fees and beginning in Sept. '85 she will face a Federal Court appeal by MacInnis that could wipe out the \$1,200—as yet unpaid—that the tribunal awarded to her and erase her precedent-setting case from feminist annals.

Potapchuk had been an employee in MacInnis's office for 12 years when she first informed the Human Rights



Potapchuk: leers and leers

Commission about her working difficulties March, 1982. Then, after MacInnis fired her for alleged insubordination on April 15, she filed a formal complaint to the commission. The case marked the first time that the body investigated an act for sexual harassment. The commission found the complaint to be "substantiated" and, according to procedure, appointed a tribunal to hear the case.

But just before the tribunal was to begin, in April, 1984, radio stations, owned by Seikirk Communications, and the Toronto Star reported that former speaker of the House Lloyd Francis had requested that the unnamed complainant in the MacInnis case had a history of mental disturbance. Francis's remark triggered an outpouring of funds from women and men across the country, and by the time of the August decision she had collected \$10,000 in her legal defense fund. Potapchuk sued Seikirk, the Star and Francis, later receiving an out-of-court apology from Seikirk, a small settlement and an apology from Francis, who admitted that he had never met her. She is still seeking \$30,000 in damages against the Star.

In the upcoming appeal MacInnis's lawyer, Pierre Giesse, said he will argue that the tribunal was biased because it was appointed by the very commission which had already supported Potapchuk's complaint. In June, Parliament resolved the question of bias in future cases when it passed a bill empowering cabinet to appoint an individual to select the tribunal panel instead of the commission. But Basil Johnston, general counsel to the Canadian Human Rights Commission, said that MacInnis's appeal deserves to be important. "It potentially affects 20 outstanding cases brought before past tribunals," he said.

For his part, MacInnis, 66, has requested a trip to and outside law office in his former riding of Niagara Falls and he told MacInnis that he is earning three times as much as when he was an MP. As for the Potapchuk charge, he said "I don't even bother with the case anymore. It is about as important to me as when the next mosquito is going to bite." Still, Potapchuk and her lawyer, Mary Corbin, will attempt to make him feel their sting again. Said Corbin: "If her decision is overturned, I will argue that her case has to be reconsidered with a new tribunal."

Potapchuk is now trying to remove her dormant defense fund and pay back the remainder of her legal fees. Even with the support of many women, her fight has been costly. "I had to sell my car," Potapchuk, who is now a media relations officer for the Ontario ministry of citizenship and culture, told MacInnis's, "and maintain a classy lifestyle."

—BARB WHEATMAN in Toronto



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The French fact and the Tories

For years the Griff restaurant is the basement of Ottawa's Château Laurier hotel was famous as the place where important Liberals met to dine and plan strategy. But since the Conservative victory last September a small reception room in the back of the Griff has become a meeting place for the capital's most notable newcomers—the new federal Tories from Quebec. Each Wednesday night, amid cigarette smoke, lively conversation and the trickle of ice cubes, bright young francophone MPs and their staffs meet for “Quebec night.” Said Hal Hammeney, executive assistant to Quebec caucus chairman Pierre Cadieux: “A whole lot of people who never knew each other came up to Ottawa. Quebec night is a bonding thing—a chance for them to get to know one another.” It is also an indication that the first stable delegation of Quebec Tories in a quarter of a century—58 MPs—is determined to adapt to Ottawa and to remain there.

When the Tories broke the Liberals' hold on Quebec last year, all but three of the Conservative MPs that Quebec voters sent to Ottawa were newcomers to federal politics. Curiously absented about the only Quebec Tory caucus leader serving even in Quebec, Lawyer Charles Jacques,



Cadieux: 'power to put ideas forward'

35, for one, was recognized primarily by the red sports car that she drove around the fresh industrial riding of Montreal-Morise. The new MPs also had widely divergent political backgrounds. Gerry Weiner, MP for Delorade, is a card-carrying provincial Liberal. Others had strong Parti Québécois links. MP Suzanne Duplaine (Louis-Hébert), for one, actively worked for the “Yes” side in the 1980 Quebec referendum. But for top Tories the group presented two overwhelming challenges: to integrate them into the machinery of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government and to impress their constituents sufficiently to guarantee re-election.

The first challenge has largely been met. Declared rookie MP Jean Charest, “We stick together but there is certainly no ghetto.” Still, the lack of solid voter support causes concern. A poll conducted in August by the Centre de recherche sur l'opinion publique (CROP Inc.) showed that since their controversial May budget the Tories, although still in the lead, have dropped six percentage points in popularity in the province to 46 per cent from 52. As well, in a national Gallup poll taken around the same time, the Liberals pulled slightly ahead of the Tories in Quebec in an unweighted regional breakdown. The Tories' decline in popularity in Quebec is probably the only party in Canada, except for the Mar-

tinists. And the drop indicates that their breakthrough in that province may be difficult to repeat. The Indians cast a shadow over the caucus as it planned to meet in Jonquière, Que., from Aug. 25 to 28 to raise its profile in a region that was once a Tory stronghold and, more importantly, to map strategy for the coming year.

The Jonquière meeting was also billed as a chance for MPs to express their regional development concerns directly to the Prime Minister. Mulroney's plans to be present for an afternoon of meetings—after a busy week on the West Coast—was a clear indication of the high value that he attaches to the group. So are two other recent milestones: Mulroney's promotion of the third Quebecer, Consumer and Corporate Affairs Minister Michel Côté, to the cabinet's powerful priorities and planning committee and the decision by Quebec Tory riding associations to launch a membership drive in Quebec at the end of the month.

The Tories' concern over the political health of their Quebec contingent has been evident since the election. Mulroney, himself a Quebecer, swiftly forced cabinet posts for 10 of the Quebec MPs, of the 41 who did not make it, eight were named parliamentary secretaries in cabinet ministers, 11 became either

senators and 14 were named chairmen of caucus committees. The Prime Minister's Office also made certain that the views of the Quebec caucus were taken into account as new caucus members regularly attended the weekly breakfast meeting of Quebec's 18 cabinet ministers, and Mulroney himself so continually dropped in on the Quebec caucus that formal business meetings on Tuesday nights. At the same time, Roch LaSalle, the MP for Joliette who was the last Quebec Conservative in the last Parliament, took on the role of godfather, providing advice and encouragement in the bewildering early days.

The PEO also took the unusual step of assigning two people to work full-time helping the Quebecers with housing problems, orientation, staffing and travelling in English-language courses. Mulroney also spread the Quebec MPs' offices throughout the Parliament Buildings so they would have daily contact with anglophone colleagues and fostered a program to “twist” English and French roles within the caucus. The Tories were at

get involved in that program was Richard Grail (Ottawa). He visited Harry Collins's Cagoule, B.C., riding last April and he plans to host Collins early in 1986. Said Grail: “This should have happened 100 years ago in this country. Now when someone comes up about British Columbia, I understand it better.” Looking back on the party efforts, Mulroney's caucus liaison chief, Patrick MacAdam, declared, “There is total integration here—the effort has paid off handsomely.”

Indeed, the Quebec caucus has already been able to test its influence. Last winter the group successfully lobbied the federal government to add the Quebec government in providing an investment loan of \$15 million to help Dombor Inc.'s troubled paper mill in the near-industry town of Windsor, Que., despite resistance to the idea in cabinet. Declared Cadieux: “We are making the importance of this caucus and our power to effectively put ideas forward.”

Still, regional development issues may prove more difficult to achieve. The

LaSalle: 'importance'



of Windsor, Que., despite resistance to the idea in cabinet. Declared Cadieux: “We are making the importance of this caucus and our power to effectively put ideas forward.”

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Quebec caucus and its anglophone colleague Curran, Quebec is competing with other provinces, particularly Ontario, for a proposed Toyota Motor Corp. plant which will assemble 50,000 vehicles annually, starting in 1988. But a federal preference for one of the locations could influence the company decision. Declared Charest: "Things are pretty rosy right now, but maybe we just haven't had a tough enough issue yet to really put us to the test."

The MP's activities have not always attracted favorable attention. During a May visit to his Lakeshore riding office, MP Maurice Tremblay became involved in a dispute with riding association president Robert Desautels over payment of bills from his election campaign. Later, Desautels claimed that the MP struck him in the face. Incurring his rage, the case is still before the courts. Another MP, Vincent Della Nave, of Drummond, gained notice because of his habit of drawing attention to his resemblance to singer Tony Bennett. And in the spring MP Gabriel Fortin (Liberal), who is still serving as chairman of the Commons communications committee, was charged in connection with an alleged securities fraud.

But the group has also produced a strong political talent. Calvert, a 37-year-old lawyer from Verdun, has earned praise from senior Tory leaders for his handling of caucus business and he seems destined for an eventual cabinet post. Tory insiders also say that Charest's talents may be wasted in his job as assistant deputy speaker, because it does not allow him to sit on House committees. Other Quebec MPs who have earned approval for performing well in difficult tasks are Pierre Blais, 36 (Liberal), parliamentary secretary to Agriculture Minister John Wise, P.H. Vincent, 30, a handsome lawyer and tax expert from Trois-Rivières who worked as parliamentary secretary to Pierre Elliott Trudeau. His efforts to improve the tarnished reputation of the revenue department, and Rodrigue Thériault, 49 (Charlebourg), parliamentary secretary to Sinclair Stange, the industrial minister of regional and industrial expansion.

LaSalle says that his main problem after the Conservatives first assumed office was in lowering the government's expectations about how much influence they would wield in Ottawa. Many tried to sign up for far more commitments than they could possibly have time to fulfill. But, added LaSalle, "I found that reputation to be a very positive sign." Indeed, one year into its mandate the Quebec caucus has demonstrated itself to be keen, ambitious and cohesive as well.

—MICHAEL ROSE in Ottawa with BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal

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Cesar Chavez fights again

There again were a familiar sight on highways, in churches, and in union halls across the continent a decade ago. In bold letters the posters urged consumers to boycott California grapes and lettuce. "We go green!" the slogan read. Support for the United Farm Workers, a union seeking better wages and working conditions for California's 300,000 agricultural field-workers. In those days the name and weather-beaten face of the UFW's charismatic leader, Cesar Chavez, was almost as familiar. Indeed, Robert Kennedy once called him "one of the heroic figures of our time." Then, in 1975 California passed the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, the United States' first collective bargaining law for farm workers. Chavez called off the boycott, and California produce responded on the heels of the estimated 37 million North Americans who had observed the boycott. Now Chavez, 58, still at the top of his game, has had to battle both internal dissension and attempts by the powerful fruit and vegetable growers to weaken that law. As a result, last summer Chavez launched a new grape boycott against the growers which, he says, "is going to be far national."



Chavez (left) and Padilla (right)

\$3.6 billion in annual sales, the agriculture industry has traditionally been a strong political power in California, and when a year ago the state governor, Republican George Deukmejian, replaced the more pro-union Democrat Jerry Brown, growers gained an important ally. Deukmejian swiftly announced that he intended to amend the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which (he said) was too favorable to the union. Since then, he has slashed more than a quarter of the 83-office budget of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which was established by the act to mediate grower-union disputes. Chavez told *Metron*'s "97th" this Deukmejian move is power, it's terrible it's worse than having no law at all. For their part, the growers say that they are finally getting equal time. Answering Chavez's charge, Barbara Buck, spokesman for the 5,400-member Western Growers Association, declared, "The ALRB is now simply more fair and less union-oriented."

Chavez is also under attack from former allies and other unions. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, once bitter rivals with the UFW for members, signed a peace treaty with the farm workers in 1977 which gave the Teamsters the right to organize the packing plants and left them a major policy on organizing in the fields. The treaty ended last year, and negotiations to renew it have broken down.

The UFW's internal problems have been another major concern for Chavez. In 1981 he fired some union officials, and others, including UFW co-founder Gilbert Padilla, resigned. After four years of discreet silence Padilla recently explained his departure in *The Los Angeles Times*: "Cesar suspected Communists were out to destroy the union," he declared. "He stepped in the worst sort of Red-baiting."

Now Chavez's old ally in parts of the liberal press has turned a critical eye on yesterday's hero. *The Village Voice* printed two particularly scathing articles in its Aug. 14 and Aug. 21, 1984 editions, linking Chavez to Charles Dederich, the founder of the controversial drug treatment center Synanon. Dederich was convicted of conspiracy to commit murder in 1978. But Chavez insists that he only knew Dederich professionally and he is suing the *Voice* for libel.

The union's problems in maintaining its heroic image are exemplified by the fate of a lawsuit stemming from the murder of a UFW worker, Rafael Guerrero, during a 1979 strike. The union claimed that three employees of a streak lettuce grower were responsible, but the case was thrown out of court for insufficient evidence. Still, Guerrero became a martyr. Then, Carl Maggia, another grower lashed by the same verdict,

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strike, vand the UFW, charging it with tempest, property damage and negligence in supervising its members. The case is currently before the Imperial County Superior Court and is expected to resume later this month. But if the court decides that the union, which once modeled its nonviolent tactics on those of Mahatma Gandhi, a policy of "violence and illegal" tactics, Meggie's lawyer, Jay Jeffcoat, said that it would be "a significant setback" for the UFW.

Yet, the powerful reputation that Chavez acquired during two decades of organizing migrant fieldworkers is still

strong. He is still a figure of moral authority, particularly in the Hispanic and labor communities, and over the years he has been honored that image by frequent exposure. He has marched with casino workers on Las Vegas picket lines, spoken on behalf of gay rights activists at Hollywood dance spots, and he has been arrested in anti-apartheid demonstrations on campuses.

Indeed, Chavez's life has been devoted to protect the son of farmworkers, he grew up in work camps. Then, in 1963, with \$1,200 of his own savings, he launched what was to be the

first successful attempt to organize the endangered migrant workers. At the time, West Coast fieldworkers earned \$1.48 an hour, not they earn five times more with benefits. A 1984 study by Indiana and Purdue universities found that 93 per cent of San Joaquin Valley farm workers believed that the UFW had improved their lives—an opinion shared even by those who did not belong to it.

As well, since the struggles of the 1970s the UFW has added two new weapons to its arsenal. One is money. Although the union pays Chavez and other top organizers a quarter \$15 a week, as well as living and other expenses, it has become a major political contributor in state politics and it has donated almost

half of its as well agree that Canadiana did not suddenly vote for a right-wing approach in the traditional sense. We remain as committed as ever to the objective of social equity. What we began to question as we listened to the politicians on the effective trial last summer was the sense and the power of government as the liberals had run it.

At the same time, we were coping with the effects of a recession that had devastated the middle-class economic mainstream. And we were adjusting to a rapid transition from familiar, high-paying industrial jobs to lower-paying service jobs or jobs whose descriptions boggle the mind—check the want ads for "GAMCAW" positions and "Jazzie" positions. In the midst of the confusion, the main thing the Tories should have done was to make a clear statement that basic safety nets—such as healthcare and unemployment insurance—would stay in place.

Conserving resources never came. Instead, extravagance of family allowance and pension benefits, while Canadians had counted on for decades, became a debatable issue again in the May budget. The Tories proposed pensions. Then they announced a commission of inquiry on unemployment insurance. But never did they clearly state that maintaining the safety nets was an appropriate role for government. The public mistrust that lack of commitment to the social safety net when the Tories eventually backed down on the downsizing of pensions, they are still dropping in the polls.

Assuring voters that government decision-making is open and amenable to another crucial ingredient for political success. Look at the language that has crept into politics in recent years: "prior consultation," "in-operation," and "consultation" are now standard terms in political rhetoric. Secretary in Parliament, it means and especially in budget preparations no longer fit with the need to know what is happening to our economy. The public feels it increasing-

COLUMN

Trading the old for the old

By Dian Cohen

It is the first anniversary of the federal Progressive Conservatives' landslide majority, and I think they have performed pretty poorly that we expect them to do. If that sounds harsh, let me add that their shortcomings stem in large measure from their misunderstanding of the meaning of their mandate for change.

Most of us will agree that Canadiana did not suddenly vote for a right-wing approach in the traditional sense. We remain as committed as ever to the objective of social equity. What we began to question as we listened to the politicians on the effective trial last summer was the sense and the power of government as the liberals had run it.

At the same time, we were coping with the effects of a recession that had devastated the middle-class economic mainstream. And we were adjusting to a rapid transition from familiar, high-paying industrial jobs to lower-paying service jobs or jobs whose descriptions boggle the mind—check the want ads for "GAMCAW" positions and "Jazzie" positions. In the midst of the confusion, the main thing the Tories should have done was to make a clear statement that basic safety nets—such as healthcare and unemployment insurance—would stay in place.

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ly difficult to tolerate a finance minister saying "Budgetary Guts" again," as he announces yet another change in the tax system. The economic transactions that are taking place cannot be settled by unknown backward boys. The Canadian public wants to hear about what is being traded off and get in on the decisions.

Last summer the Tories scored high marks for their consultation style and for their realistic approach of the economy's prospects. And by bringing labor, business, native and women's groups and the unemployed together in March, the government-sponsored National Research Conference raised further expectations that the long-awaited budget would bring the trade-offs between deficit reduction and job creation to the table for open discussion.

We should have seen the signals. Instead, old-style backroom decision-making still prevailed in March.

Last summer the Tories scored high for their consultative style. Later, old-style backroom decisions prevailed

government backed out the sliding Canada Commercial Bank, and in April of Quebec ceased successfully promised Ottawa to pay the interest on a \$100-million loan to a Quebec Domestic plant. Still, people hoped that the budget would reflect the concerns that they had expressed at the conference. The need for a long-term employment strategy, a maintenance of the economic safety nets and a drop in government spending.

The budget failed on almost all counts. Finance Minister Michael Wilson said, "Our priority must be jobs for Canadians," but it was difficult to discern his strategy. While the budget's incentives for small business may ultimately create jobs, to accept that its \$300,000 capital cost per employee to increase investment in a fact a job creation measure takes a gargantuan leap of faith. Indeed, many of the participants in the National Economic Conference, as well as many involved in the pre-budget consultations, cite the capital cost as evidence that the consultation process was a fraud. And name added to hearing about it or

suggesting it before Wilson's budget announcement.

This reform is another area in which the gap between the public's expectations and the Tories' performance has widened. One almost universal feature of the consultation process is that all women- and business-pledged for major tax reform. Wilson explicitly failed that hope when he said, "I have deliberately not launched a process of massive tax relief. We want not risk creating uncertainty."

Worse, instead of the expected trade-off between deficit reduction and job creation, we got a tax increase. Meanwhile, the latest projections suggest that the deficit is higher today than it was three months ago. Many voters are questioning whether the higher taxes they will pay for the next several years will in fact reduce that mountain of debt others are wondering how they can be expected to be motivated by the budget's willingness to create taxation and move into the underground economy.

There is one other area in which the Conservatives have misinterpreted the mandate: the public's skepticism with the welfare state of governments. Instead of reduction we got the biggest cabinet ever and an annual wage bill for the federal civil service that is a staggering \$6.7 billion.

Worry about the deficit does not mean support for drastic across-the-board cuts. Rather, it signals our desire to discuss trade-offs clearly and openly. But the trade-offs simply have not been put on the table. And the Tories have missed an opportunity to bring much-needed realism to the style that brought them to power.

Year 2 is going to be much more difficult for the Conservative government. But the requirements for political success are the same. They want year ago politicians must give evidence of having listened, evidence of long-term planning and an honest appraisal of priority.

Those problems would have been easier for the Tories to handle year ago. Now they must address them while climbing out of a deep hole of public mistrust. The challenge for the rest of us is to keep up the pressure for access to the decision-making process. In the end, the government will have to get it right, or we will decide for ourselves.

Dian Cohen is a Montreal-based economics writer.



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Mulroney's uneasy anniversary

COVER

After the House of Commons resumes next week, Eugene Forsey, 81, will at some point take his place in the Parliamentary Gallery, where he has been watching over Canada's history since he was a child. Now, the retired senator finds that what he

a child was oddly appropriate, because recent public opinion polls are detected as an uneasy chill in the political air. The Gallup poll taken in July found that the Conservatives had slipped from a post-election high of 60 per cent voter approval to only 40 per cent, with the party declining most sharply in Quebec



Mulroney and Forsey in March, distracted by events from more critical times

sees in the Commons reminds him of the political mood there when he first visited during liberally controlled Robert Borden's Conservative government. Just as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney took power last Sept. 4 with a commitment to change and the country's bleeding, Borden arrived in 1911 filled with promise—only to be controversially written off, as a Calgary journalist put it, as "a well-meaning but torpid person." Now, Forsey sees a similar failure to follow through on the part of the Mulroney government, leading to "a certain disappointment" among Canadians about the present Tory regime.

Analysis: Just one year after the Conservative's electoral triumph, Mulroney's Tories are engaged in an anxious soul-searching. That the Prime Minister spent most of his summer vacation trying to shake off

and the West. Now, as the Mulroney government leads into the new parliamentary session—with key decisions pending as free trade with the United States and possible Canadian participation in Washington's space-based Strategic Defense Initiative—the sense of disappointment and anger is focused on nearly all aspects of the government. As well, it comes from most regions of the country—and even from some of Mulroney's own advisers.

Borden well-meaning



Leading the list of complaints is the fact that Mulroney's government has postponed or ignored many of its campaign undertakings, ranging from his pledge to reduce unemployment in his view to substantially cut the federal deficit. Faced with nearly constant criticism of the government for its campaign sleaze and appointments, Mul-



Mulroney at his desk in Ottawa problem is simply the business of leadership and toughness

roney finally said in Vancouver two weeks ago that he will provide a list of interest guidelines and permit parliamentary committees to review government appointments.

Pelicans: But disillusioned supporters envied that Mulroney is surrounded by scribes and advisers who strive to please and flatter their boss while protecting him from painful realities. According to those critics, most staff members in the Prime Minister's Office are Mulroney friends who were hired more for their personal loyalty than for their political skills. "The mutual flattery," said a worried senior Tory, "breeds a natural apathy."

As a result of Ottawa's inaction on

key issues, the provinces, which almost unanimously applauded the arrival of the Tories in Ottawa, are showing signs of reverting to a more adversarial stance. Although the Prime Minister has restored cordial relations with Quebec and enjoys the approval of Alberta's premier, Peter Lougheed—who says that Mulroney's government has "done extremely well"—other premiers are less enthusiastic. Concluded Newfoundland's Conservative premier, Evan Peckford: "After close to a year, very little fulfiling seems to be there." More probably, Manitoba New Democrat Party Premier Howard Pawley rated the Mulroney government as "very disappointing" and showing "a lack of

principle, a lack of direction."

Anger: Indeed, the Conservatives' traditional core of support in the West is shifting uncomfortably. There is resentment over the fact that Mulroney has made only three brief visits to the region since he took office last Sept. 17. There is also anger over an apparent lack of western clout in the Mulroney government and Ottawa's slow response to calls for a comprehensive federal program to cushion farmers from financial failures and over the federal refusal to adopt a red meat stockpiling plan to help struggling beef producers.

At the same time, the government's efforts in the economic arena—and its understandable failure to provide a

quick solution to unemployment—have angered labor unions and spokesmen for the poor and disadvantaged. Finance Minister Michael Wilson's May 25 budget indicated the labor movement by providing tax breaks for corporations and well-to-do Canadians while offering little for the poor or unemployed.

Alarm: Canada's 1,700,000 pensioners won a critical battle with Ottawa in June when the government backed down on Wilson's plan to curtail increases in old-age security payments. But at least some of the victors are still bitter. Debra Margaret Chown, a Winnipeg pensioner, "I think a lot of individuals who have been staunch Conservatives in their voting are now looking with suspicion [at the government]."

Even members of Canada's business community, who welcomed the Conservative victory last fall, are inclined now to applaud with only one hand. While some businessmen claim to be satisfied—Mulroney has done "everything he can" to do "what was to be done," said

Walter Galt, a Calgary oil and gas lobbyist—others are alarmed by Ottawa's failure to move decisively against the deficit. Mulroney, said Toronto stockbroker Andria Gortals, "is waiting a glorious opportunity to make his mark."

That dissatisfaction has not changed the attention of Mulroney or his advisers, many of whom spent the summer trying to determine just what went wrong. One Mulroney aide said that "in the first year we were carried away by events"—such as Page 36's Paul's visit to Canada in September and the Quebec City summit between Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan in March, which distracted the new government from other pressing issues. Government

leaders also say that members of the new government were hindered by their lack of experience. Still, a close associate of Mulroney's "We were like a bunch of guerrillas swooping into a village from out of the left. We knew what we wanted to do but we didn't trust anyone

well, a Liberal party reform committee urged that party members be given a larger role in policy formulation and stressed the need for greater accountability to the party rank and file. The expert also recommended that the party compile a comprehensive party mem-

two ministers—Suzanne Blais-Greider from Environment and Elmer McKelvey from the past of senior government—surprised some critics who had expected sterner action.

In Vancouver last month the Prime Minister made his pledge to assess the government's image in a petrozone dispenser. In another take-charge approach, Mulroney defined that charge as "a conscious decision by the all-party parliamentary committee studying a possible Canadian role in the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative he would decide the name himself before Parliament's Sept. 8 resumption.

The new image was welcomed by Tory strategists, who acknowledge that as the government embarks on Year II it will no longer be possible to blame the Liberals for all the nation's problems. Real Ottawa consultant and Mulroney confidant, William Neville "The problem is that this government is a little unclear even as the house direction—and it is beginning to hurt a politically. The issue, added Neville, is, "Where is this government going?"

Problems: According to many critics, nothing has so sharply illustrated the Mulroney government's lack of direction as the voyage last month of the U.S. Coast Guard cutterbacker Polar Sea through the Northwest Passage. As Canadian nationalistic protest, Washington's refusal to visit Canada's peninsula, Mulroney's silence and External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's intention disavowed even members of the Prime Minister's own staff. Later in Vancouver, Mulroney tried to answer by declaring that the Arctic matter belongs to Canada "lock, stock and barrel." But by then the image had fared of a Prime Minister crippled by indifference or indecision.

Neville said that since the Mulroney government took power last fall, it has fallen into "a reactive mode." In that, Mulroney may resemble former Liberal prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King more than Heren King's advisor, Jack Pickens. He has written that King believed "the real secret of political leadership was more in what was prevented than what was accomplished." And there is evidence that Mulroney also follows that doctrine: a constant cabinet shuffle, the delaying of vital decisions on defense and trade, the failure to take tough but unpopular measures against the federal deficit.

Critics of the government say that Mulroney is badly served by members of the staff of the PM, who control access to the Prime Minister as well as the information he receives. A year ago Mulroney surprised party veterans by staffing the PMO largely with old friends, like senior advisor Fred Doherty,



Mulroney, after a strong start, the government fell into a 'reactive mode'

there and we didn't even know how to make the water work." By the end of June, when Parliament rose for the summer break following Wilson's return on the pension issue, not even the most loyal Tory showed any enthusiasm

breaking list and intensify its fund-raising efforts in order to deal with the party's estimated \$15-million debt.

Under pressure, a different brand Mulroney seems to have emerged. The politician who last year was packaged to



Foreign-sounding disappointment over the young government's performance

Conservative: For their part, the opposition Liberals and New Democrats have been galvanised by the evidence of government confusion. Liberal leader John Turner renewed his own office to gain former coalition, over the party's research and economic business activities and worked to mould his left-and-right Conservatives caucus into a more effective opposition. In a report made public last

corner the largest electoral potential in Canadian history slipped into September wrapped in new and improved colors. A bureaucratic shakedown to put the government firmly in charge of the federal civil service, although agreed over eight months, was completed in August. But the Liberals did not carry through to the Prime Minister's major cabinet shuffle, in which the director of

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who attended St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., with Mulroney. Then he asked other friends from his days as a Montreal lawyer, including Bernard Ray, his principal secretary. As a result, said a senior Conservative, "no one ever got the opportunity to give him the bad news. He has no identifiable group of strong people who need to kick things around the way they need to be."

went. "I thought the momentum would carry further than that," Turner told *Weekend*'s last week. "It has been quite a collapse." For loyal Conservatives the tidings have been painful indeed. In its first three weeks, last Nov. 5, the new government declared that "there is a new will among Canadians to make a fresh start in the search for answers." Three days later Wilson stood in the



Mulroney: his cracks for higher-income Canadians infuriated the labor movement

Last week Ottawa was seething in rumors of a possible shakeup in the new that might even affect the role played by principal secretary Ray. Doubtful by friends as "the clearest thing in a hero's back ever laid," Ray at one time was regarded as the one person who could tell Mulroney when he was making a mistake. But insiders say that has not happened. Said one "Bernard is an able, decent, capable guy who does not run the race."

Now there is speculation that Mulroney, like Pierre Trudeau, will turn for guidance to the Perry Council. Office, part of the permanent civil service, where policy has traditionally been developed and refined by senior bureaucrats.

Troubles. No one doubts that major changes are necessary. The Mulroney government's loss of direction over the past year has been surprising even those expecting the

Conservative and, as a first move toward deficit reduction, announced measures that he said would cost \$2.4 billion from federal spending.

But critics note the government's series of misadventures seemed to dissipate. To be sure, the Conservatives did follow through on key pledges to dismantle the 1980 National Energy Program, establish a more welcoming environment for foreign investment and begin the deregulation of the transportation sector. But other campaign undertakings were ignored. In Wilson's increased \$109-billion budget for the current fiscal year, he paid only token attention to the federal deficit, which in spite of sharp tax increases now is projected at about \$24 billion, compared to the record of almost \$36 billion in the year that ended March 31. And increasingly, leaders of the hard-core provincials are

boosting tensions over federal inaction on unemployment and regional development.

Still, the Prime Minister may now be moving toward a more delicate legislative agenda. In Vancouver he told the 35 cabinet ministers who belong to the powerful Progress and Planning Committee of cabinet to begin studying policies without waiting for approval from the new. In those days of meetings on the West Coast the committee drafted a 30-month agenda that put Canada-U.S. trade arrangements at the top of the list. But because there is little money available for new and ambitious projects, Mulroney's government is expected to pursue politically attractive legislation, including Criminal Code amendments such as those to clamp down on drunk driving and pornography, and may even—Turner suspects—on the near future call for a free vote on capital punishment. Actions such as this and the privatization of Crown corporations, such as Canadian Ltd. and de Havilland Aircraft of Canada Ltd., cost little but pay political dividends.

Friends. Mulroney will also likely attempt to exploit and strengthen his already strong relations with the provinces. With an election expected in Quebec this fall, Mulroney will soon be in a position to step up negotiations for a constitutional accord with the province, that refused to support the 1982 Constitution. Mulroney is a personal friend of both Liberal leader Robert Bourassa and Premier Marc Johnson, expected to succeed René Lévesque this month as Parti Québécois leader and premier.

Some political forecasters predict that the Mulroney administration might be a one-term government. But that has been largely discredited by Mulroney's new take-charge look. Bourassa and even a second term by making significant policy advances in such areas as Canadian sovereignty, when he was a visit for Canada at the League of Nations, and reopened free trading negotiations with the United States, two areas that are almost certain to concern Mulroney in the coming months.

As well, Mulroney is unlikely to face the elections before Year 4 at the earliest. And although many Conservatives say that they are worried, others declare confidence in the government's ability to learn from its errors. Many Conservatives believe that, as Neville put it, "this government is not 'be taken. It is adjusting and on a learning curve.'" After the debilitating events of the summer, the challenge for Mulroney will be to demonstrate that is true.

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A measure of the nation's mood

The government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, elected last September with the biggest parliamentary majority in Canadian history, entered its second year last week after a steep fall in favor with the Canadian electorate, according to summer opinion polls. To study the mood of Canadians, Maclean's Senior Writer Glen Allen travelled 3,200 miles across the country late last month and talked to people in small towns and cities. Journeying from the shores of the Atlantic to the British Columbia Interior, Allen found that middle Canada, with its measured rhythms and lingering respect for older values, is to a large degree unaffected—and unimpressed—by the pledges and posturing of political leaders. Citizens in the Canadian heartland are almost unanimous in their call for more jobs. But for the most part, midtown Canadians expressed satisfaction with their lives. As the following portraits by Allen of five Canadian communities show, there is dissatisfaction with the accomplishments of the Mulroney government, but so far there is little anger or bitterness.



YARMOUTH, N.S.

At 30 o'clock one blustery last week, Leonard Dubinsky, the 66-year-old proprietor of Mr Leonard's Discount Store on the main street of Yarmouth, N.S., went to work in the gleaming crimson sports jacket he wears like a flag. The biggest fishing traffic away from the packing houses in front of his souvenir emporium. "If they don't have lots of notes," said Dubinsky, catching sight of the day's first tour bus, a Desmarco Tours coach from Hapson, N.J., that was making its final stop before returning home on one of two Service Linking Yarmouth with New England. "They won't stop at all."

In Yarmouth, a town of 3,500 that was once the second-largest port of registry in Canada, most good things, including tourism, come from the sea. "We wouldn't be made without it," said Dubinsky, whose shop sells everything from T-shirts that say "I was in Nova Scotia" to plastic lobster. But the At-

lantic Ocean at the door of Yarmouth, on the southwest tip of Nova Scotia, is not quite the good provider it once was. The port, along with other communities across Canada, when asked to government for help—will not for direct handouts, then at least for creating a climate for improvement. And Yarmouth, also in company with other Canadian communities, faces somewhat less down by the year-end government in Ottawa.

Disillusionment. Yarmouth is still a major fishing port, but none of the 1,500 fishermen who ply the Gulf of Maine and the Bay of Fundy for lobster, cod and haddock complain of depleted stocks and overly stringent government regulations. As well, many of the 3,000 tourists who arrive every day in the peak summer season often spend right through to other places. Hopes for prosperity now are tied not to the sea but planted instead on a new tin mine 45 km from town that will employ 350 workers when it opens next spring. "We have always survived," said Henry Ross, the country farmer Princeton University English teacher who is the son of a sea

captain and now is a trustee of the Yarmouth County Museum. "But we're suffering from geography, and when you live at the end of the line you have to fight Ottawa and Sept-Îles." Ross said that much was expected of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government after its election last year. Mulroney is "an intelligent man with business experience," said Ross, but "there has been disillusionment."

"Small towns, big dreams" was one of the refrains that helped to win power in Ottawa for Mulroney and his Conservatives. But after a year of Tory rule none of the townspeople interviewed could think of anything that their new Tory member of Parliament, David O'Connor—who replaced Liberal Ontario Conservative last Sept. 4—had done to enlarge the lives of Yarmouth's citizens. Still, there is little sense of deep disappointment. "They made no promises, so no promises could be broken," observed Yarmouth's mayor, Maurice McElwain. With or without promises, politicians of any stripe make no difference in the good, quiet life of John d'Entremont, a ship-

wright who looked much younger than his 70 years as he repaired the hull of the 105-foot sailboat Challenger. "I don't think about them," he said. "There's no need. We're fine. You can't make a fortune here, but it's a good place to live."

Pickle: But there have been changes in Yarmouth that some residents find disquieting. The venerable downtown area, dominated by century-old waterfront buildings, contrasts sharply with encroaching shopping plazas. The tone of life has changed, as Zane Hatfield's variety store Hapler, Posthouse and a gay lifestyle guide lie nearby beside Country Quilt magazine. And with 56 per cent of Yarmouth's residents living on fixed incomes—pensions, unemployment insurance and other forms of social assistance—and many of the rest dependent on the often fickle fish catch, the town's economy is fragile.

That vulnerability was highlighted when Finance Minister Michael Wilson, in his November economic statement, announced that the winter sailings of the 1,100-passenger car marine ferry Bluenose between Yarmouth and Bar Harbor, Me., would be slashed. The plan endangered the \$50 million in business generated locally by the ferry each year and the incomes of the 45-member crew. Wilson's proposal created the only serious local political issue in the past year involving the Tory government which the people of Yarmouth helped to elect. But three weeks ago, with the announcement that Premier John Buchanan's Conservative provincial government would put up \$300,000 to subsidize the threatened service, Ottawa retracted the winter sailings. That was a welcome development for Yarmouth residents such as Charles Robb, who manages a firm that supplies maple, cleaning supplies and paper plates to the Bluenose. Robb, who voted Conservative last September, says he feels that the Mulroney government stood up to pressure agreements has been "a little hard to take. But Mulroney has done as much as could be done. I think we're fortunate to live in this country."

Penalties: No one does thank Ya, a 33-year-old former Saigon medical student who built a conscience store in Yarmouth with his own hands and keeps it open 17 hours a day, seven days a week. Six years ago Ya, his wife, Thea, and two of his four children arrived penniless in Canada from Vietnam after being robbed by Thai pirates as they made their way in an open boat to Indonesia with 600 other refugees. "We were 14 days on that boat," said Ya, serving a "terrifying double soup sea-cross" out to a Yarmouth customer. "We died and now we are alive again. Wherever our leaders are here, I am happy. You don't know how lucky you are."



Challenger IV is drydock; d'Entremont changes that same old ship's rigging



Rimouski's main street; Lévesque (below left); Philippe, voting. Out is the referendum, slanting Conservatives

Down the long road to change

RIMOUSKI, QUE.

The 22-foot-long windcatcher awnings hanging from the wall in Jean Lévesque's high-style sports store on the main street of Rimouski could serve as the symbol of the new and outward-looking middle-class which has grown and flowered in Quebec over the past two decades. Lévesque, 35, whose father owns La Maison du Sagoué restaurant on the other side of rue St-Germain, sells about 200 awnings a year at \$1,000 each to the reform-minded people of this city of 25,000, 300 km northwest of Quebec City. And on a Sunday afternoon the jewel-bright awls of his customers' boards cross the wide sweep of the St. Lawrence River that carries by the city and they form bright horizons in Little Lac St-Mathias

on the hills behind it. "Yes, they certainly seem to like them," said Lévesque. "People like to get outside here."

Monkeys. But Rimouski, a logging community that grew into a quirky and sprawling centre of government buildings and schools where the most serious political concern is the creation of jobs for the young, is a city of many contradictions. One of the few urban areas in Quebec that voted Out in the 1980 independence referendum, Rimouski also elected Conservative Monique Vézina by a massive majority in last September's federal election (in Ottawa, Vézina became Brian Mulroney's minister for external relations). And when Lévesque spoke of these "who like to get outside," he is not speaking for some of the 2,000 Rimouskians between 18 and 25 living on provincial welfare payments of \$157 a month. Those people, according to 35-year-old Luciane Philippe, the doc-

tor of Rimouski's youth hostel, "are living on the streets and camping out in the fields. On that amount of money you can either eat or pay the rent. Not both."

Rimouski, much of which was destroyed by a fire that started in a hamburger stand in 1956, is also an architectural stew. The edifice features both television satellite dishes and structures with older pedigree, such as the stately, 18th-century-old Palais-Germain Cathedral in the city centre. The spirit of the 1980s is in evidence at a video arcade named Amusements Galaxie, where teenage clients spend the long evenings playing Pac-Man, Great Gunt, Mortarpest II & A, and Trest Pilot, to dancing rock music.

But few of Rimouski's residents seem concerned about the fact that they live in a community kept alive by the rough-ly 50 government offices established in

the city to serve the fishermen, forestry workers and farmers of Quebec's Bas-St-Laurent region. "Once you get out of Montreal, you're in provincial Quebec. And this is it," said Michelle Caron, who is married to a local school principal and helped organized a congress of 1,000

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event held at the Ranch du Pôla. Others were witnessing a trial in the southern Palais de Justice on Avenue de la Cathédrale, one that a Radio-Canada commentator described as "unprecedented in Quebec history" (in it, the court has been asked to rule on an action brought by a 20-year-old music student, Anne Lévesque, against the Rimouski conservatory, which allegedly claimed that she was "too old" to be admitted to a third and final year of studies.)

But Gagnon was lying in the sun on the edge of the municipal wharf among a little knot of fishermen who were not catching any fish. Gagnon, 37, an unemployed Wiley's worker and an owner of the works of William Shakespeare, moved to Rimouski from Quebec City 12 years ago. She was less concerned that they about the twists and turns of federal politics ("all you can say is that each of our leaders

83-year-old Charles Talbot, a lifelong Conservative, was watching a James Bond movie on his color television set. " Trudeau won't dominate by any means," said Talbot, a former pool hall owner. "And Mulroney may be all right too. But I was deceived by that position thing. There was a lot of fear here." He was referring to the Tory government's removal, and subsequent restoration, of televising for old-age persons.

Tearing. In his office in the firm of I. R. D'Amico, a sprawling food supply warehouse near the city's barren-looking industrial park, Rimouski Mayor Albert Michaud spoke of the "one real political issue we have—the opening of Rimouski to the world." Tearing open a huge road map on his desk, Michaud pointed to the red line representing Highway 83, the main link between Rimouski to Quebec City. "Now here," he said, pointing to a spot 85 km west of Rimouski, at Cacouna, Que., "it changes from a four-lane road to two lanes. If we had four lanes all the way, Miramichi-bound traffic would come through here. This is as important to us as the widening of the railway was to the opening of the West." Michaud said that 18 years ago the federal government vowed to work with the province to complete the five-lane highway. He added, "But very little has happened. And we see very little of Mrs. Vézina. We see terribly frustrated." But Bernard Perrin, editor of the newspaper Le Rimouskois, had a different opinion of the Mr. "Mrs. Vézina goes along very well with the people here, although there's much in the way of change. We're up to here with feasibility studies."

So is Philippe, who has obtained \$25,000 from the provincial government to turn eight of the beds in her own, no-frills white frame hostel into winter accommodation for homeless youth. "We have had all kinds of studies on the problem—not just studies, but symposiums, secretariats and conventions—a great number of words. What I am seeing is young people who have no confidence in the political system at all. Sometimes I have trouble thinking of this as a society built on love."

His way to power last year was Mulroney's speech of "a commitment, new ideas, new prosperity—a brand-new tomorrow." In Rimouski, at least according to Luciane Philippe, tomorrow has not yet arrived.



But I've been here too long to leave and I love it by the water here. We all know each other."

In a small but comfortable room on the fourth floor of Le Foyer Des Rimouski, the local senior citizens' residence,

A golden city on the Dome

TIMMINS, ONT.

The Canadian Shield is a massive, 2.5-billion-year-old horseshoe-shaped swath of stone that spans the greater part of Eastern Canada. There, wrote historian Arthur H. Lower, Chaudière ran "like their own." And deep in the Precambrian heart of the shield live the 45,000 citizens of the

for gold in the mine's 800 km of underground galleries and tunnels.

One of them is timber crew boss Bill Lavoie, who at 55 it's not one day last month but out of a cage carrying 40 miners up the mile-deep No. 8 shaft. Lavoie, 54, wearing the Wells Flame Lamp that warns miners when the underground oxygen level drops below 16 percent, nevertheless, stopped out into the yard for some afternoon sun. "But that the air's at all had down there,

Indeed, the city has undergone a big and enduring change. It has transformed itself from what Mayor Victor Power says was "a place with a mining camp mentality where everything was temporary," into a stable, colorfully informal northern city. The town's urban scene is still dominated by its many beer parlors and a two-story skyway. But at the street level, the city's Steak House near the Ontario Northland train station waltzes and waltzes-

shims, Japan, Powers added. "Timmins was a centre of metal/minerals before the rest of Canada knew what the word meant." Almost 60 per cent of Timmins residents are French-speaking, and when Italy was the World Cup of soccer in 1990, members of a Timmins Italian club staged a parade. Said Power: "We are a microcosm of the country."

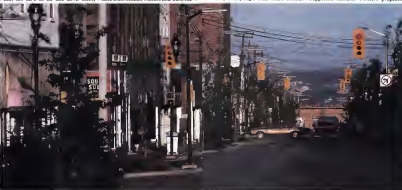
Recreation It is a surprisingly large municipality. The 1,350-square-mile municipal area served by Pine Chief Albert Schaffer, his 38 salaried firemen and 146 volunteers is so vast that he must sometimes call in water bombers to put out fires in the forests located within the city limits. "It's not just everyday firefighting," he said. But Schaffer, who is also Timmins's emergency measures co-ordinator, says that more serious

dead, when Maurice Switzer, the publisher of the *Timmins Daily Press* (the first paper owned by the late Lord Thomson of Fleet), arrived in Timmins four years ago one of the first things he noticed was the city's unbridled confidence and informality. Said Switzer: "I remember when I first got here I thought I'd go to a meeting of the Rotary Club to meet well-placed people. Well, when I got there the president had on a khaki bush jacket, with a big red and maroon tattooed on his arm. People don't put on airs here."

But political tempers sometimes flare, noted Switzer. When Gervais, as the new MP for Timmins-Chaplin riding, said in an interview with the local paper last June that he continuously supported Michael Wilson's proposed

But he pushed it too far. He thought he could get away with anything." A former butcher from nearby Coburn, Ont., Lavoie brought television to Northern Ontario and, with a 1,500-mile microwave relay system across the North, his company, Mid-Canada System, became the owner of the largest privately held microwave system in the world. He recently had a chance to buy the French-language Ontario newspaper *Le Devoir*, but he declined because "I would have had to move. I couldn't. I go to Toronto, the belly button of the province, for money, advice, insurance and lawyers. But this is where I live."

Students Probyn Paul, Ont.-born elementary schoolteacher Joyce White, who recently was out packing raspberries



Little (left): downtown street scene; Lavoie (far right): fishing, hunting and a shaft for skyscrapers

Northern Ontario city of Timmins. It was in that area, on a June morning 76 years ago, that prospectors Harry Preston and Jack Wilson found what a visitor later described as "gold in blinks, like sand." Druggies, and in spontaneous masses some of their large as a cap lying under the moss in a dome-shaped outcrop of quartz. That gold strike became Timmins's Dome mine, and its history, says the region's Conservative MP Aurèle Gervais, "is really the history of the area." It is still Timmins's third-largest employer, with 800 men digging

whatever you think," he said. "Maybe somebody from down north wouldn't want to spend his working hours underground. That is the other hand, I don't like going up in skyscrapers either." Lavoie not only enjoys his work deep underground—"I'll stay here as long as they'll have me," he said—but he says he loves the kind of life he can lead in aboveground Timmins. "The world's a terrible mess. We don't have that here yet. It's quiet and steady here. There's fishing and hunting and lots of things to do."

on serve real mussels while a Judo Iglesin sound-alike serenades diners with his rendition of *To All the Girls I've Loved Before*. There is also a "Jazzercise" school and 26 channels are available to local television viewers. "We have more than you may think—you could say this place is here to stay," said Power, a 51-year-old guidance counselor at Timmins High and Vocational School who is now in his fifth year at elected office. Pointing to a large glass-encased Japanese doll sent to him by the people of Timmins's sister city of Nan-

shu, Japan, Powers added. "Timmins was a centre of metal/minerals before the rest of Canada knew what the word meant." Almost 60 per cent of Timmins residents are French-speaking, and when Italy was the World Cup of soccer in 1990, members of a Timmins Italian club staged a parade. Said Power: "We are a microcosm of the country."

Recreation It is a surprisingly large municipality. The 1,350-square-mile municipal area served by Pine Chief Albert Schaffer, his 38 salaried firemen and 146 volunteers is so vast that he must sometimes call in water bombers to put out fires in the forests located within the city limits. "It's not just everyday firefighting," he said. But Schaffer, who is also Timmins's emergency measures co-ordinator, says that more serious

dislodging of old-age persons, Switzer printed a form letter in his newspaper asking for readers' views. He received about 400 replies—all but one of them in protest. Said General Lavoie, as he pointed the blame around his little estate along the Manicouagan River. "People here can be quite political. But they tend to focus more on the person—the politician, not the issue."

Only action Lavoie, a 46-year-old who pioneered the introduction of telecommunications into Northern Ontario, and he feels that the last federal election result was "a reaction. I loved Trudeau. He was our most brilliant leader

rest by the side of a Timmins highway, had to grow to like the community where he served 28 years ago. Now she is a Timmins enthusiast. Said White: "It's been a nice place to live. I mean, where else can you do this, go on your bike and find enough berries to make a pie in about an hour? White and her husband, Errol, a Timmins alderman, met Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at a reception in the downtown Senator Hotel where he passed through Timmins during last summer's federal election campaign. "I voted for him," said White. "But he hasn't done that much yet, has he?"



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The last of a special breed

CRAIK, SASK.

At the end of year 1 of Brian Mulroney's government and 15 years before the millennium, the town of Craik, Sask., stands gratefully on the brink of its centennial. In about 85 km north of Moose Jaw, Sask. only one really pressing problem. It resides in the heady eyes and bristling bodies of a summer plague of grasshoppers that, almost against nature, arrive on the drought conditions which have parched prairie farms for the second year in a row. For farmers around Craik, the grasshoppers are a pestilence: they nibble and devour young stalks of wheat. And for the 260 male and 362 female townspeople who find them up their sleeves, in their lunchtime soup and in their shoes, they are a ubiquitous nuisance.

From: To accept the grasshoppers, explained a woman who was shopping in Pacific Town's novelty store on a recent summer afternoon, "I'm going to get up at four in the morning to do the grass. They seem quiet then." But it is a town so small that it only put up street signs two years ago, the people of Craik are at least free of critical political or social problems.

There is little crime in Craik, although the hardware store liquor concession was raided last year, apparently by bandits from the city. Sold Pacific Dixon, the good-natured wife of a welder who works in northern Saskatchewan three miles out of every month. "Deers are usually left unharmed here. People know each other and treat each other." And, she added, the town's teenagers show a sign of being involved in drugs, "although they made a couple of arrests in the town on the highway." Said 76-year-old Elsie Austin, a silver-haired former officer of the local senior citizens' group who came to the Craik area from Missouri in 1917: "I don't know

anybody here who's really in want."

The lead item in a recent edition of the *Craik Weekly News*, a 77-year-old paper edited and published by Harve Friedel, was not likely to disturb the serene municipal mood of Craik (its a front-page notice Friedel informed readers that he would not publish during the first two weeks in August "due to the fact that I am growing and harvesting"). "Betty Austin, Karen, Dusty, Derry and Jennifer Austin," began the column of local news written by the same Mrs.

year-old Ivan McMillan, a former farmer who once served as an adviser to the Canadian Wheat Board at international negotiations in Geneva and now lives in a freshly painted two-story house in Craik. "It's the attitude of the people that makes a town."

From: And according to Ronald Gower, a 58-year-old mayor of Craik who owns a hardware store, "People are also pretty political here." Gower, who recently passed up a chance to buy a business in British Columbia "because I



The town hall is in an area where street signs are a novelty, people know and trust each other.

Down," vacated at the home of Adele Boyer from Friday to Sunday and were entertained by Hester and Marlene Boyer.

Craik, which has been visited in the course of its 82-year history by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Queen Elizabeth II, is also in the heart of the region that gave birth to Canada's socialist and neo-socialist movements, in the province that elected the country's first socialist government and introduced medicare to Canada. And when townspeople and farmers mingle for morning coffee in the east of the Moose station on the highway side of town, they often donate their change to the plastic CDSO bank sitting by the cash register. Said 76-

would have missed the people here something serious," noted Conservative last Sept. 4, but now says that decision. "We were all for the federal government last September but we're down on it now," said Gower, who still intends to vote for them in the next election.

From: Although Gower could think of no weaknesses that had been kept or broken by William Gottlieb, the former and former mayor of Outlook, Sask., who won Moose Jaw riding for the federal Tories last year, other citizens had specific political grievances. Sitting over coffee and cake at a table in the sparsely furnished of his farmhouse outside of Craik on Sunday morning last month, 50-year-old Douglas Dale said



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that the federal government should invest in research into biological or chemical means of controlling the grasshoppers that infested the 600 acres of hard, acid-resistant wheat that he planted this year. Still, Dale said that grasshoppers are "part of the landscape" and he

Western Canada Company might win additional votes, but he decided that he is certain "it won't be the farmers. We know them." Added Middle Dale, who still considers himself to be a Conservative, "I'm pretty ticked off at the Tories. They've gone and bought Gulf Oil. They

of the Great American desert. If it wasn't for the agriculture, we'd be about as well off as the Northwest Territories."

Former Leonard Carlson, who owns a well-wooded farm on the edge of the Craik town line and also owns an air-



John Horvath in his field outside Craik: an awareness among hard-pressed farmers that Ottawa is short of money

considers himself lucky to have escaped the drought that has devastated many farmers south of Highway 1, only 70 km away. "Compared to them, we live in the Garden of Eden," said Dale. As for the Mulroney government, Dale said that he is "disappointed"—his thought: it would have paid a little more attention to the West."

In the next election Dale said that some farmers will likely cast their votes for parties other than the Conservatives. He added that the independent

said they wouldn't do it, and then they did. And I'd like to know just how many jobs were created."

Dale is more concerned about the long-term future of the land that he believes is being damaged by erosion, erosion and sedimentation—land he hopes to turn over to his sons and his son's sons. "I'd like a life of about 500 years if you don't take care of it," he said. "Look at what's happened to Northern China and the Ukraine. We really live here on a northern extension

strip and two light aircraft to service the tourist fishing camp that he operates in northern Saskatchewan, has another grievance. "It's true," he said, "that farm prices aren't high enough. We've got 1985 inflation, but pre-1975 prices and that could use some inflation." But, said Carlson, starting out from under his baseball cap at harvest man John Horvath harvesting his crop of flax in a field across the highway, "let's face it, the government hasn't got any more money than we've got."

Hard times in the mountain bowl

NELSON, B.C.

Early on a Monday morning in August, 58-year-old Maclean Inglis, one of two mountaineering carriers in the area, is seen carrying a large, heavy backpack up a steep, rocky trail. He is wearing a blue shirt and dark shorts, and is carrying a large, heavy backpack. He is walking on a dirt path that is surrounded by trees and rocks. In the background, there are mountains and a small town.

Punished: Especially happy are the ones who receive welfare and unemployment cheques in the mail, she brings, said Inglis. They are among the more than 50 per cent of Nelson's citizens without work. During the past two years a Vancouver-based investment company closed down the Kootenay Forest Products sawmill, plywood plant and herb operation. That employed 500 people in Nelson, and the provincial government closed the city's David Thompson University Centre, the only de-segregating institution in British Columbia east of Vancouver, which employed 450 teachers and support staff. (The university did not go quickly, protesters staged a 90-day sit-in.) Some Nelsonites, including retired B.C. Telephone Co. employee Robert Smith, declared that the community is being "punished" by Premier William Bennett's Social Credit government for its allegiance to the provincial New Democratic Party.

Whistle: And what the provincial government has taken away, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservatives have not returned, even though the party has the support of Nelson's voters. Says 58-year-old teacher Allan Angerman: "This election we voted Conservative because we were ready for a change. But we didn't get one. I think we're too far from Ottawa to feel any effects."

Indeed, some of the few direct effects in



Inglis, enjoying work, serving 400 customers, but the town is slowly shrinking

this town—where you can still fly-fish for Kokanee salmon—a long stone's throw from the big orange bridge that juts out Nelson to its little constellation of suburbs on the other side of Kootenay Lake's west arm—are distant and isolated. Set in a bowl formed by mountains of the Kootenay range, 785 km east of Vancouver, Nelson is stranded between Highway 1 to the north and Highway 3 to the south. As a result, the Nelson area cannot rely on tourism for economic revival, even though it is sometimes blessed with summer skiing on neighboring Kokanee Glacier and winter skiing 30 km down the road to Salmo, and the lake all year around. Notes Frank Coleman, whose 35-room North

Side Gordon Highlands, resource planner for the regional branch of the provincial ministry of forests, which last month gave a shot in the arm to the economy when it hired 3,000 local men to help build this summer's phase of forest fires. "Life is laid back here," Nelson has a lot of time on its hands, even on a four-day workshop scheduled for October with the working title of "Renew energy sector." Even citizens with more arduous lifestyles are fully relaxed too. The city's 58-year-old mayor, Leon Maglio, wears a straw hat and an open-necked shirt to work. At 4 p.m. on a recent Monday, John Best, 41, the manager of Vogue Photography Studio in downtown Nelson, and his 35-

year-old son, the same time, there are plans to promote the empty university as a forestry research institute. Other suggested uses for the free-building mountain-side campus include converting it into an Olympic training centre or a peace institute. But as noted earlier, Coleman, who is known to his neighbors as a "conservative thinker," observed: "They had to close the university. At the end there were more staff members than students. And the small town made money. It was badly managed." Still, Nelson would like to "be more" of its Conservative Mr. Robert Brice, a divergent from nearby Castlegar who wanted the ruling of Kootenay West away from the New Democrats



Swanson (left), Allan Angerman and family at the beach "too far from Ottawa to feel any effects"

Shore Inn had only three paying guests on a recent weekend. "You can miss Nelson entirely. If people don't know where they're going, they'll never get here."

Remains: But for others, including the U.S. draft dodgers who arrived in scores in the Nelson area during the 1960s and the artists and writers who make it their home, the sense of nostalgia is what they treasure. Georgia Swedien is the owner of the Baker Street Pantry House, a state selling organic produce and other natural foods. The window is decorated with a dated poster that announced Nelson's participation in an Aug. 6 ceremony to wrap a "ribbon of peace" around the Pentagon and Capitol Hill in Washington. As she observes, "The books and records are old, but anyone who's still here is determined to stay."

year-old wife, Marilyn, was about to drive off the first lot of the prehistoric and well-timed Nelson Golf and Country Club course. "This morning," and Best, who once shot a 68 for the nine holes, "I had my bunk in the water 10 minutes after I left home. I spent all day on the lake with my kids and now here I am. There may not be enough water opportunities here, but it's not hard to figure out why people keep coming back."

Picketing: Even labor conflicts in Nelson seem gentle. Waging warm smiles, Fran Hargett and Olga Wages, employees of Shaw Cable, were beginning their third week of picketing at the tiny bungalow housing the local cable company. It was the only strike under way in town, and the issue was "fortuitous" allegedly shown toward another worker.

The citizens of Nelson say that Ottawa has done little for them in the past

last Sept. 4. Not even older citizens, such as 72-year-old former barber Carl Swanson, who suffered a stroke last winter but still plans to go skiing this winter, were particularly angry by Conservative plans to partially remove the protection against inflation from old-age pensions. "Of course, I was glad the whole thing got straightened out," said Swanson. "People were very worried. I was one of them. But Mulroney means well." In fact, the Prime Minister called on Nelson in the final days of last summer's federal election campaign. "It was right here in this park," said Robert Smith, who is not a Tory, his tanned arm gesturing toward the green lawn and trees fronting the beach. "They followed him around just like sheep being led to the slaughter." Coleman also remembers Mulroney's visit. "Mila," he said, "was a terrific kid."

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Clearing the forecast

The men and women who specialize in economic forecasting sometimes have reason to hope that their predictions are wrong. That was the case a year ago when, despite the election of Brian Mulroney's Conservatives and their pledge of a more benign environment for business, nearly all the forecasts pointed to a sharp slowdown in Canada in 1988—perhaps even a recession. In fact, the year's economy has defied the experts and continued to expand at a respectable pace. Interest rates are at their lowest level in seven years and inflation appears to be under control, although unemployment is still high by historical standards and improving only gradually. Scott Thomson McCormack, director of economics at Data Resources of Canada, a Toronto-based economic forecasting firm: "So far this year we have been pleasantly surprised. There seems to be pretty good momentum in the Canadian economy."

Inflation. As a result, economists have been revising upward their estimates of economic growth this year. Last November, Finance Minister Michael Wilson forecast that the gross national product, which measures the country's total output of goods and services, would grow by only 2.4 per cent in 1988 after dampening the effects of inflation. That compared to a 1984 increase of 4.7 per cent, the largest one-year spurt for the economy since 1970. Then last week Wilson told Mulroney's that he now expects final figures will show real growth of almost four per cent this year. At week's end, Statistics Canada reported that the GNP grew at an annual average rate of slightly more than 4.1 per cent in the first half of 1988, a pace that is expected to decline only gradually during the remainder of the year. "Over the past 18 months," declared Wilson, "Canada has been right at the top of the heap of major industrialized countries in terms of inflation, job creation and economic growth. We're obviously doing things right here."

Despite the generally bullish outlook, the economy is far from buoyant. For one thing, the recovery from the severe 1981-82 recession has been uneven, with some sectors—including forestry and mining, which are struggling with poor demand and depressed world prices—particularly weak. Partly because of that, the benefits of the recovery have been concentrated in Central Canada at



Mulroney, McCormack (below) as Canada's recovery has left some sectors struggling

the expense of the Atlantic provinces and the West. That has produced wide variations in provincial unemployment rates, which range from only 7.9 per cent of the work force in Saskatchewan and eight per cent in Ontario to 14 per cent in

British Columbia, 15.5 per cent in New Brunswick and a soaring 21.3 per cent in Newfoundland.

Not is there much hope for a significant improvement in employment over the short term. In a quarterly report released in July, the widely respected Conference Board of Canada predicted that unemployment nationwide would fall only slightly, to 10 per cent during 1988, from the current level of 10.4 per cent. Other forecasters, including the federal finance department, do not expect the rate to fall from the double-digit range until at least 1989. Declared Jack Werners, senior economist for the Royal Bank of Canada in Montreal: "Our projections show that any improvement in the jobless rate will be gradual. Growth will not occur fast enough to absorb the excess supply in the labor market."

Paycheques. Indeed, in some Canadian communities hardship is so prevalent now as it was in the depths of the recession. "If there has been a recovery, I haven't seen any evidence of it," said Sonny Williams, 56, of Glace Bay, N.S., a



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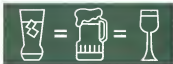
True, they look different, but all three drinks are really equal in lightness because they're equal in alcohol content. Twelve cans of regular beer contain the same amount of alcohol as 5 cans of table wine or 1½ cans of spirits.

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A three-way tie for alcohol content

Cape Breton sliding town in which the unemployment rate is now estimated at 50 per cent. A former scientist and vocational schoolteacher who has not earned a paycheck in over a year, Widman currently is an unpaid volunteer for a local food bank. "Unemployment has become a way of life here," he said. "But at least people do not starve." In nearby North Sydney seaport Jack Brook, 38, has worked only intermittently for the past three years. Although he recently completed a drafting course and has submitted 37 job applications, Brook is pessimistic about the chances of finding a full-time job. "Nothing has changed for me," he said.

In the West, both Manitoba and Saskatchewan are benefiting from increased grain exports, which should help to partly offset the effects of weak international grain prices and the drought that currently is ruining crops in parts of the Prairie. In Alberta the drought is striking especially hard at cattle ranchers, but the province's petroleum industry is beginning to recover from three successive years of deficits. Still, although the Conservatives' decision to dismantle many of the country's national energy policies has breathed new life into the oil and natural gas industry, some drilling operations are uneconomical. In general, medium-depth drilling rigs that search for oil are busy, while larger rigs that hunt for natural gas are less active. Said Gordon Pestlewell, who heads a Calgary-based firm that has six large drilling rigs: "Considering the amount of gas that has already been found, we will probably have surprises until 1996 or 1997. I am not optimistic that we will get as a financial even break until that time."

Savings: For all that, Canadians are passing through a period of relative prosperity. The combination of falling interest rates and the recent gradual rise in employment has led consumers to dip into their savings to finance new cars, particularly on such buy-back offers as houses and automobiles. In addition, Walter's May budget injected a projected \$2 billion in savings into the economy by eliminating the tax deduction for money invested in Registered Home Ownership Savings Plans (RHOPs).

Some experts say that the resulting boom in spending—total consumer spending grew at a five-per-cent annual rate during the first half of 1989—will be shorted when federal cuts, cuts and income tax increases start to bite next year. Noted Robert Kerwin, an economics professor at Ontario's University of Waterloo and a spokesman for the Consumers' Association of Canada, "Almost every economic measure taken by the Conservatives so far has hurt consumers. But we are

and found that 53 per cent planned to increase capital spending over the next six months, while only eight per cent expected to cut expenditures. Eventually, the rebound in capital spending should help to moderate Canadian inflation and improve their ability to compete internationally. That in turn could create jobs for some of the country's 1.3 million unemployed.

Pressure: Even so, several uncertainties still cloud the future course of the economy. One is whether the steadily worsening U.S. trade balance—a result of the strength of the U.S. dollar against other currencies, making imports cheaper while driving up the price of American exports—will drive the U.S. economy into recession. If that happens, the Canadian economy would also be dragged down. At the same time, some leaders of Canada's business community say that they are worried about the growing protectionist pressure in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate to restrict imports of Canadian products, including lumber, fish and beef.

As a result, the Mulroney government is re-evaluating whether to launch discussions with Washington aimed at some form of free trade, a prospect that Ottawa fears would damage its manufacturing base. Whatever the outcome, the issue is critical for the economy: last year Canada purchased 20 per cent of all U.S. exports, while the United States took 76 per cent of all Canadian exports.

Exports: Most economists say that Mulroney's government cannot claim credit for the economy's sustained expansion. The most important contributing factors, they say, are the influence of low interest rates in the United States and the continued strong demand for some of Canada's principal exports, including automobiles and steel. In fact, many economists and businessmen criticize Mulroney's Conservatives for not acting aggressively enough to reduce the federal deficit, which reached \$38.9 billion in the 18-month period ending last March. Said Dave Kosman, McCormick: "The changes we have been more cosmetic than substantive." Added Brian Gray, vice-president and general manager of the 32,000-member Canadian Federation of Independent Business: "It could be said that the Conservatives think they have had a lot of luck up to now. And it is Canada's good fortune to be next door to a very healthy U.S. economy." Still, many Mulroney advisers believe the fragile recovery, the rest of his term may not be quite so trouble-free.

—BOB LAYNE with DANIEL FRIE in Toronto, PETER LAMARCA in Cape Breton and REBECCA DUNN in Calgary

PEOPLE

Singer, dancer, screen, wife and mother **Pho Zadora**, 38, plans to perform with a symphony orchestra in a concert among the Pyramids at Giza, near Cairo, this fall—soon after she turns it out the Royal York Hotel in Toronto on Sept. 30. "It is not really an act, it is a concert," said Zadora, whose current album, *Pho & Phil*, contains a collection of 24 hits recorded in Britain last year with the London Philharmonic. Said Zadora: "The album took nine days to record because I was pregnant and I had to keep running out and throwing up." Zadora's Toronto orchestra will be made up of local symphony musicians who will play selections from the album, including Zadora's favorite, the 1958 *That Girl* song "Traveling Light" with her eight-month-old daughter, *Kathy*, who has already been to Europe five times, and her multinational businessman husband of eight years, **Michael Rikhi**, 38. Zadora said that she spends half her life in airplanes and the other half in Europe, New York and Los Angeles. And she shows no sign of settling down. Said Zadora: "I have been in Los Angeles for a long time now—12 has been 24 weeks."

Historic Doug Hawking, 38, says that before "a lot of red tape" when he crossed international borders because he usually travels with a retinue of 30 people, one of them his own chef, and an assortment of large animals, including a 400-lb Bengal tiger. Scheduled to headline the special entertainment for visiting world parliamentarians in Ottawa this week, Winnipeg-born Hawking is playing in Canada for the first time in 12 years. He says that he needs only his wife, *Dabbie*, a few pups and

Memories of a few pups



Antropologist Marilyn Walker, 34, author of the new *Remembering the Northern Wild*, writes recipes that include such exotic plants as sea-purslane and gopher's beard. Currently on a working holiday at a wilderness



What's poster: Myriad Zadora, symphony singer Zadora: "It is not really an act"

camp 200 km northeast of Yellowknife, where she is a part lecturer at wild plants and their uses. Walker says that a person can live for several weeks in the subarctic on the plant life alone, but she added that such sentences were more of an emergency food source than a staple. "Wildlife relies on the plants for survival but I don't collect them for pleasure," said Walker. She is gathering and preserving flora for Canadian museums, including the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, where she is assistant head of exhibit design. Depending on the weather, the campers will also be able to enjoy cur-

renewing and taking. Added Walker: "The weather is very changeable—I have three different weights of parkas, just in case."

Some people love whales, other people just like to watch them, and **Robert Wyland** paints life-size pictures of them—on the sides of buildings. The 28-year-old Laguna Beach, Calif.-based mariner has just completed the eighth in his series on the eastern wall of a seven-story office building in Vancouver. An environmentalist who says his work is "the art of saving whales," Wyland uses donated paint and puts his focus into a trust fund to further his "whaling walls" project, which he says

he hopes will expand to include similar paintings on 100 buildings around the world. "I am not rich but I am extremely happy about what I am doing," added Wyland, who makes his living by selling smaller paintings and posters at his mural sites. He took two weeks to paint the Vancouver mural and used 200 gallons of paint worth \$9,000. The next wall to be scheduled is paint in Tokyo's Ginza shopping area, which he says will be "an incredible undertaking because the Japanese have been whale buyers for 400 years. But I am not going to as a protester—I am going to as an artist giving a gift."

—Edited by DEBBIE LADENKURT



A nation under the gun

Ignoring the pleas of priests leading the demonstrations—and the cries of children—the police struck, some firing live ammunition from shotguns and rifles. Swinging batons and heavy riot-control whips known as *boas*, firing rubber bullets and tear gas grenades,

at least 650 blacks have died violently, more than 150 of them since the government declared a state of emergency on July 12. Last week, in the battle to block the march on Pollsmoor and in the days of rioting that followed, the death toll hovered by at least 31. And on the eve of last Wednesday's clashes

ca's financial crisis worsened, and foreign banks demanded repayment of loans. It was a message read by his wife, Dorothy, last week, Bhebe declared. "The walls of oppression are beginning to crumble."

Then the pressure for political reform increased significantly when four



Mobs in a Cape Town suburb against Bhebe (below): "The walls of oppression are beginning to crumble"

South African police last week fought thousands of anti-apartheid demonstrators. They attacked black, white, Asian and mixed-race people of all ages in the suburbs of Cape Town, killing at least 11 and injuring hundreds in the first clashes on Wednesday. Columns of smoke and clouds of tear gas enveloped five of the suburbs as the police enforced a government ban on a planned protest march to Pollsmoor Prison to demand the release of black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela. Then some of the nation's most influential businessmen demanded that government leaders meet with black activists and swiftly initiate fundamental—and historically unthinkable—reform.

The Cape protest was part of a chain of violence in South Africa's worst crisis since 1960, when 69 blacks were killed in the Sharpeville massacre. Since Pretoria

police detained march organizer Rev Allan Bhebe.

Bhebe, the abashed demonstrators that Bhebe claimed would turn South Africa "on its head" achieved some of their goals. On the day of Bhebe's arrest, Finance Minister Barend de Waal suspended trading on the nation's currency and stock markets until Sept. 12 as the South African rand plunged to its lowest level ever. And the most powerful black trade union, the National Union of Mineworkers, called for a strike beginning Sunday by 42,000 men at five gold mines and two collieries. By week's end, South Africa's

major South African business groups urged the government to lift the state of emergency, relax restrictive race laws and seek an accord with black leaders. Declaring that Pretoria is pushing the country into "a state of siege," four agriculturalists that together speak for the majority of South Africa's industry—both white and black—said in a statement on Thursday that the government should negotiate democratic reforms directly with black representatives, including imprisoned leaders such as Mandela. Declared the business group: "Our survival depends on making the necessary structural changes."



South African police last week fought thousands of anti-apartheid demonstrators.

The appeal to the primarily Afrikaner National Party government was made by four groups representing companies that are mainly run by *Koedoe*-speaking South Africans. But the campaign for reform was reinforced in a separate, even stronger statement by Anton Rupert, the dominant Afrikaner community's most powerful businessman. Field Rupert, whose works include holding in the tobacco, beverages and food industries include Baskerville International and Carling O'Keefe Ltd. of Toronto. "Time has run out. This is the government's last opportunity to correct past errors and introduce the sort of reforms the country urgently needs," said Gavin Baily, chairman of Johannesburg-based Anglo American Corp., the world's biggest mining company, added his voice to the reformist appeal in a call for "genuine negotiations with representatives of all groups."

The attack by the South African businessmen reflected the heavy toll that months of racial violence have exacted on South Africa's economy. The nation in which five million whites rule 34 million blacks has been sustained recently by a healthy agricultural industry, a wealth of minerals—gold, diamonds, platinum and other rare metals—and a black work force controlled by rigid race and labor laws. But falling mineral and metal prices and two years of drought drove the country into its worst recession in 50 years. And the growing rebelliousness of the black majority against the intransigence of President Pieter Bhebe's ruling National Party has eroded international support and confidence. Before the government halted currency trading last week, the rand's exchange value had plummeted to 25.45 cents (U.S.) from 90 cents (U.S.) in January, 1984.

Rapidly escalating for the government has been a dramatic flight of foreign investment. According to Gerhard de Kock, governor of South Africa's Reserve Bank, about \$2 billion in short-term foreign capital left the country between January, 1984, and June, 1985. And in July alone, foreign investors sold off \$70 million in stocks of South African companies. Last week de Kock flew to London and the United States to seek relief from repayment schedules on loans—particularly short-term U.S. dollar and West German mark credits.

De Kock's mission was critical to South Africa's stability. The nation owes interest payments this year of \$12 billion on debts to foreign banks of \$19 billion. And Barclays International Bank, the largest in South Africa, reported that last week's repayment demands from foreign banks exceeded the country's combined reserves of gold and foreign exchange. For his part, de Kock is pressing for a reestablishing of the debt

parade in Washington this week.

At the same time, Pretoria's problems worsened last week when official Washington spokesmen noted the harshness of the nation's new labor laws. During legal proceedings in a Soweto court against more than 800 schoolchildren charged with violating emergency regulations, Bhebe reacted angrily when the name of an eight-year-old boy was called by the prosecutor. Bhebe was arrested when he said of the court officers: "What a shame. This is a joke. These people are clowns."

It was still unclear how the government will respond to the new pressure from the business sector. Traditionally,



South African miners: abhorred demonstrations, riots and a mounting financial crisis

Mandela, 67, whose father, Nelson Mandela, 67, has been in jail since 1962, said that President Ronald Reagan's traditional hard-line policy toward South Africa has not helped the nation's black. Mandela added that Bhebe "needs to violate the fundamental commitment to justice of the American people." The Bhebe regime has offered Nelson Mandela, the leader of the banned African National Congress, a form of limited freedom—internal exile—if he renounces the use of violence to achieve political ends. But Mandela has refused freedom "with conditions."

Joining the leader in jail last week

business in South Africa has been largely controlled by the English-speaking community, which does not support apartheid as strongly as the Afrikaner community. However, analysts suggest that Bhebe must now form an alliance with the anglophone business leaders in order to offset pressure from right-wing Afrikaners opposed to his tentative reforms. Still, most observers believe that in the short term at least the outlook for the troubled nation will be more bleak.

—BAL QUINN with ALLISTER STRAIN in Johannesburg

The shocks from a network of spies

On September 10 West Germany's re-united government described the intricate web of deception, disguises and arrests as "in for a career act." But the world details of how master spies played on the weaknesses of men and women in key government posts was a deadly serious affair. Born in a nation in which thousands of Communist agents ply their trade—and all five counterintelligence chiefs have been forced from office in the past 31 years—West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government confronted the most severe espionage penetration in the nation's history. Last week Kohl attempted to defuse the crisis by firing the chief of national security. But serious allies debated the risks of sharing sensitive intelligence with Bonn, and the government faced a new wave of parliamentary attack amid indications that East German spies had such a grip on Bonn's state secrets that some foreign agents slipped loose from the cold before they could be caught.

The crisis began on Sept. 25 in East Berlin city. West German counterintelligence chief Hans Joachim Tiedge, 48, had defected to East Germany. His departure came at a time when the federal intelligence service, which employed Tiedge, had identified Chinese and Polish employees of the West German government as spies for East Berlin. Inga Lohmeyer, the 61-year-old private secretary to West Germany's economics minister, Lorenz Harting, an army major, and a husband from Vienna, a bookkeeper for a lobbying group associated with Kohl's Christian Democratic Union party. All three suspects have since disappeared and are believed hiding in East Germany.

Then last week—on the same day that Kohl dismissed secret service chief Herbert Hellmuth—authorities revealed that a West German internal security officer had been questioned about his friendship with a male East German agent and an East German diplomat in Bonn. Aven had defected to West Germany. The questioning was directed at Reinhard Liebenberg, 48, a 20-year friend of one Eberhard Severn, 50, who infiltrated West Germany as an electronics company employee in Cologne, where the internal security was based, before fleeing to Vienna in July. Liebenberg informed the intelligence service that the East Germans had tried to persuade him to defect during a recent holiday in Austria.

Later that day Bonn confirmed that

Martin Winkler, the East German chargé d'affaires in Argentina, had defected—presumably because he feared that Tiedge might expose him as one of Bonn's agents. British espionage expert Richard Payne said of Tiedge: "One would assume he is disclosing the names

of all Eastern spies known in the West." The counterintelligence investigation into Tiedge's defection took a western twist last week when police investigators in Cologne, where Tiedge lived and worked for counterintelligence headquarters, announced that they were reopening an inquiry into the death of Tiedge's wife. Originally, she was reported to have died of a brain hemorrhage after an accidental fall in the Tiedges' simple stone bungalow in July, 1988. But now, neighbors claim, Tiedge and his wife quarreled and he struck her over the head with a spaghetti bowl.

As for the disgraced Hellmuth, he described his abrupt ascent as "a very bitter experience." Kohl attempted to minimize Germany's allies by appointing Bonn's ambassador to Bonn, Hans-Gert Wink, an ex-Hellmuth's successor. Meanwhile, West German counterintelligence agents struggled to come to grips with the ways of a vast network of East German agents—estimated to number at least 3,000—in their midst. One key target is locally established secretaries of a certain age who work long hours for top-level officials in Bonn. For his part, Tiedge had heavy personal debts and suffered from alcoholism. And in London authorities accused the possibility that he began death notes printed in *The Times* actually was a coded warning to East German agents in Britain to take over.

Indeed, last week police in Bonn arrested Margarete Hoke, 54, a special secretary in President Richard von Weizsäcker's office, whom they suspect of having slipped military secrets to East Germany for 30 years. Suspected East German spies also were arrested in Britain and Switzerland. In London police announced the defection of an East German couple, Reinhard Schulze, 38, and his wife, Sonja, 35, on spy charges but offered no details. In the peaceful village of Neuenkirch, north of Lucerne, Swiss police detained a couple identified as Johann and Ingrid Hübner who were suspected of having conducted espionage operations in West Germany and Switzerland. In Bonn the federal prosecutor's office sought to verify a theory that the Hübners, who had lived in Neuenkirch for 15 years, had been in contact with Hoke. And despite numerous details, there were allegations that a mole, or double agent, once worked as a secretary inside Kohl's own chancellery.

Hoke's arrest testified to the depth of East German penetration. Police said that Hoke, who had worked for 20 years

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Kohl striking back at the spy-masters



Atomic test site on Moruro Atoll; Tricot's "shortcomings" in the secret service

FRANCE

The Greenpeace scandal

The carefully hedged report was intended to resolve a swirling controversy. Instead, it provoked a new international outcry in what has become known in France as "l'affaire Greenpeace"—the scandal surrounding French involvement in the bombing of a ship owned by the group last week. Special investigator Bernard Tricot reported that at least seven agents of the French secret service were involved in a covert operation to infiltrate Greenpeace and monitor the environmental activist group's activities in advance of French weapons tests in Polynesia. But he also concluded that the underwater bombing of the Greenpeace flagship Rainbow Warrior in Auckland Harbor on July 19 took place without the knowledge or consent of the French government. "In the present state of my information," said Tricot, "I do not believe there was any official French responsibility." Opponents perched in Paris, large sections of the West European press and Greenpeace spokesmen swiftly described the report as a "white-

wash," and even Tricot acknowledged publicly that he could have been deceived.

In New Zealand, Prime Minister David Lange declared that the report is an embarrassment to both the French government and the author. He added that Tricot "seems to put a drink of innocence over what is essentially a gross piece of espionage on the soil of a friendly country. That is absolutely unsatisfactory." Indeed, throughout the 29-page report to President François Mitterrand, Tricot stressed that information on the ship's sinking was incomplete and that a more thorough investigation was necessary. But based primarily on his questioning of senior government officials, the investigator said that key French suspects in the bombing were innocent.

According to the report,

Cadre Alain Mafret and Capt. Dominique Pelzer, the two agents of the Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure (DGSE), the French secret service, who were arrested in New Zealand after the bombing, were admitted only to spy on the Rainbow Warrior's crew. The vessel was to lead a protest jetties against the French nuclear tests, announced this fall on Moruro Atoll in the South Pacific. But Tricot appeared to exonerate the two agents. He concluded, "It seems to me improbable that they participated directly or indirectly in placing mines under the hull of the Rainbow Warrior." Tricot also reported that French Army officer Christine Colloc, using the alias Frédéric Bessley, had infiltrated the Greenpeace organization in New Zealand but had left the country before the bombing. As well, he cleared three French frigates who were in the area on the chartered yacht Doris and who are still wanted for questioning by New Zealand police. After his 13-day investigation, Tricot said that the frigates were indeed sent agents but had not planted the fatal bombs.

Tricot later raised doubts about the accuracy of his report. He declared, "I did not exclude that I was deceived. I do not exclude that there may have been a kind of general agreement, or agreement at a certain level, not to tell me the truth." For his part, Lange demanded an official apology from France, saying, "The simple fact is that this report shows the DGSE elected to have five spies in New Zealand. That is not evidence of the sort of responsible level of co-operation between our two countries." Later, French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius concluded that the report revealed "shortcomings" in the secret service and he pledged, for the first time, to prosecute those responsible if New Zealand can furnish proof of French culpability.

At week's end, pressure was mounting on the Mitterrand administration to co-operate with the Lange government in solving the mystery. And Greenpeace officials announced they were taking legal action against France to obtain compensation in the loss of their ship. But the mystery may not begin to be solved until November. Then, in an Auckland courtroom, two French agents will face charges of sabotage and murder. At about the same time, France will likely be conducting nuclear tests and the crew of a new Greenpeace flagship will be leading a protest.

—ANDY BELUKI with TRICOT
in NANTES in Paris and JOHN
MILANZIO in Auckland



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LIBERIA

Liberia's quest for political liberty

In turbulent West Africa last week events in two capitals followed a familiar pattern: in each, government by force alternates with the promise of political reform. First in Lagos, without warning, Nigeria's government made announced that the ruling military president, Maj-Gen. Abdulsalam Abacha, had been overthrown in a bloodless palace coup. Then, 1,000 miles west in Monrovia, the military president of Liberia, Samuel Doe, announced that presidential and legislative elections will be held on Oct. 15. The Nigerian coup followed a troubled 20 months during which Abacha had tried to eliminate corruption and reform the faltering economy in the oil-rich nation of more than 85 million. In Liberia, the regime's oldest and deepest black state, Doe's critics expressed doubts that the October elections—proclaimed after a American pressure—will be fully democratic. Madelon's correspondent Liza Doan recently visited Liberia, a nation of 2.5 million that was founded by freed American slaves and became a self-governing republic in 1847. Her report.

arrange a ballroom of Monrovia's presidential palace that, "when things begin to get on the right track we will return to the barracks."



Monrovia street scene. Doe: chaos of violence

Doe's election last last week seemed to fulfill that promise. Indeed, he hailed the announcement as "the first time in Liberia's history that public officials will be elected freely and fairly." But his may critics charge that the formerly



least war-prone, now a state five-star general, has made certain that only he has a chance of winning the presidency. They add that the government has banned several opposition parties and jailed dozens of people under a decree that prohibits criticism of the government. Doe, ousted on Aug. 22 as the co-founder of the National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDP), replied that his government has done "everything politi-

cally and financially possible to ensure multiparty elections."

Liberians got their first taste of "democracy," as some local observers have named his style, last year. After a national referendum that approved a new constitution, authorities lifted a ban on political activity, and about a dozen parties sprang up. But Liberia's Special Election Commission, which is headed by Doe associates, denied registration to several parties on the grounds of fraud in the completion of party lists. So far, only the small Unity Party and Doe's NDP, have received permission to contest the October polls. Arguments brewed from the decision the leader of the Liberian People's Party, Amos Sawyer, because of alleged accounting irregularities on a commission he had chaired. Still another opponent of the government, former finance minister Elias Johnson Street, went on trial last month for criticizing the government during a recent trip to the United States. Washington officials say that they expect "the process of law" for Johnson-Street—and for elections in October—but also in less than a year, declaring, "It is not an election but an orchestrated process with the purpose of legitimizing the status quo."

For many Liberians the status quo hardly seems worth defending. The country's economy is staggering under the weight of a \$1.3-billion foreign debt. Depressed prices for steel, rubber and timber—Liberia's main exports—have sharply reduced earnings. Unemployment is running above 60 per cent in the capital, Monrovia, where more civil servants haven't been paid for months. Since the coup, the country has been kept solvent mainly by U.S. aid, which reached nearly \$600 million this year, 10 times the 1988 level.

The U.S. assistance program gives Washington a strong influence in Monrovia, and last month a congressional foreign relations subcommittee led further U.S. support to the "successful completion of free and fair elections." But some analysts doubt that Doe can win without a rigged vote. Complicating the picture are persistent rumors of a coup. And one of Doe's most trusted officers, Lt.-Col. Moses Fiamanor, tried to kill him earlier this year. Fiamanor was shot by a firing squad eight days later. For Liberians the violent episode was a clear setback to the promise of democratic government in the ideal of Liberia that gave their nation its name.



Heighs in his upper Canada brewery, chasing a tickle downriver with twist tops, tall bottles and low-calorie brews

BUSINESS/ECONOMY

The bubbling battle over beer

On any night of the week Canadians can watch one of the country's biggest advertising and marketing battles being waged on their television sets. The "Beer Wars," as industry analysts are calling them, have never been more costly or intense. Indeed, the key weapon in the fight—the beer commercials that saturate the airways—have become a major art form. Whether the ads are the traditional "togs with a beer" type or fast-paced spots packed with post-locking men and women relentlessly endorsing the high life to the beat of hard-driving music, they are slickly professional. And their effectiveness is critical to the big three national brewers—Molson's Molson Breweries of Canada Ltd., John Labatt Ltd. of London, Ont., and Carling O'Keefe Ltd. of Toronto—that are engaged in a fierce struggle for a greater share of a large but stagnating market, Canada's \$4-billion annual beer business. Indeed, the fight is so intense that some industry analysts are saying that one of the big three may go out of business. Advertisement

alcohol, according to both beer company executives and industry analysts, are demographic and lifestyle changes. The "baby boomers"—now between the ages of 30 and 40—drink less as they

Maturing, surviving in a flat market



get older, and there are fewer young men to take their place. And some consumers are bypassing old beer for beverages such as white wine and the "summer coolers"—fruit juice, mineral water and white wine mixed. In response, the beer industry has dramatically boosted its combined advertising expenditures, to \$80.8 million last year from \$52.4 million in 1983. But that has not deterred themselves. So far in 1985, beer sales have fallen 6.4 per cent, partly because of an abnormally cold summer in Ontario and Quebec. But the long-term forecast is equally bleak. Bud Peter Widdington, president and chief executive officer of Labatt's. "The market is flat. I do not see any significant rise in consumption in the near future."

The dominant big three are also facing a challenge from foreign products. American and European imported beers are increasingly capturing the taste of Canadian consumers—particularly in the West. And as Brian Mulroney's Conservative government prepares to open a freer trade debate with the United States that will likely force the beer companies to already registered their opposition. They say that free trade with the United States would devastate the Canadian

brewing plants.

Domestically, Molson's, Labatt's and Carling O'Keefe have to contend with new competitors from small specialty brewers who are appealing to drinkers willing to pay slightly more for what they say is a purer, more flavorful beer.

The beer makers' concern over falling sales is a relatively new phenomenon. During the 1960s and 1970s, selling beer was an extremely profitable business. Sales were booming, and many independent breweries shut down or were bought by the big three. Expansion into the U.S. market also provided new opportunities. And in a growing domestic market, the big three used no pressure to innovate. The large corpo-

rate resulted in a confusing blizzard of changes: "Lite" beers, long-neck bottles, twist caps, "harvest" and "regional" brands, 18-packs and up-sized aluminum cans have all been hastily presented in an attempt to win market share.

The current marketing war was sparked in 1980 by Labatt's gradual inroads of the American brand Budweiser. In 1983 Carling O'Keefe launched Miller High Life. At the same time, all three companies came out with a variety of "lite" brands. Labatt's scored a stunning success in 1984 by putting its famous Blue Lager in a tall bottle with a twist cap. This year Carling has counterattacked by offering Miller in 565-mL cans—nicknamed "muntar shells"—each holding the

latest bottles as the clear victor in the marketplace—the company that sells Canadian the greatest portion of the approximately \$5 billion 20-packs they consume every year. Molson's now controls 30 per cent of the entire Canadian market, up four points from two years ago. The \$77.7 million that it earned on beer sales in fiscal 1985 equaled about 90 per cent of the industry's decline over the year. Molson's, which earned \$30 million last year, has 31 per cent of the market. Carling O'Keefe is in third place with 26 per cent, and last year it had profits of \$28.8 million. The remaining five per cent is shared by imports, represented by Heileman.

The emergence of Labatt's as the undisputed industry leader is the result of a series of innovations that have amazed industry observers and kept the competition on the defensive. The company was the first of the big three to introduce "lite" beer into Canada and the first to put twist-top caps on long-necked bottles. And this summer Labatt's again surprised the industry by launching Twist Ready, a mix of beer and fruit flavors. Bud Heinrich Molnar, chairman of Carling O'Keefe, says that he knows it. "If the first thing is accepted, you always get the other companies doing it." But Molson's Keyworth says that "to totally destroy the bottom line to gain market share is not the way to go." Many analysts express similar opinions. With Labatt's grabbing the major share of the industry's advertising budgets, they say that either Molson's or Carling O'Keefe may disappear. Said Michael Palmer, a brewing analyst for Toronto-based brokers Blake Securities Inc. "It is a loss-averse battle."

To protect themselves from the vagaries of the beer business, each firm has been diversifying its holdings. Molson's has bought a chemical company and a home hardware chain, while Labatt's has a brewery, film companies and a cable television station. And Carling, which is the least diversified of the big three, announced in July that it was ready to spend \$250 million to buy one of four consumer-products companies that it had identified as takeover targets.

Despite this year's decline in beer sales, small companies are recovering a 20-year trend to industry consolidation and are opening so-called "microbreweries." Some local breweries have opened for the first time in the past two years—five in British Columbia and two in Ontario—and four more are scheduled to begin brewing later this year. Most of the microbreweries make a premium-priced "natural" beer, using only barley, water, hops and yeast, as the traditional recipe, which certain preservatives and artificial ingredients.



Figures represent all the money spent in Canada by brewers. Beer is daily newspapers, film, computers, magazines, coffee and tobacco.

ness ignored consumer demand for lower-calorie, lower-alcohol "lite" beer. Bud Molson's Keyworth "We like to think we are responding to consumer tastes, but our industry has not always been all that consumer-driven."

But the good times ended in the early 1980s when beer sales started to dry up. With the market stagnant, sales increases could only be made as a competitor's expense. With each percentage point of market share currently worth about \$5 million in after-tax profit, the competition is not far from the same packaging and costly of campaigns to gain an advantage.

The beer aficionados, the missing but-

equivalent of nearly three regular bottles.

The beer wars have recast the breweries into the modern age of marketing, but they have done little to increase industry-wide sales. Because the companies have not accepted the expense incurred by the massive product launches and high-priced advertising battles through heavy sales, profits have plummeted. In the fiscal year that ended in April, 1985, the big three earned profits on their brewing operations of \$11.5 million. Last year, they earned \$1.5 million on the record \$228 million earned in fiscal 1983.

Still, John Labatt has emerged from

Granville Island Brewing Company in downtown Vancouver, is selling 1,500 dozen bottles a week of its Brewmaster's beer. Said Werner Kallidinos, who worked as a brewmaster near Munich before he came to Canada. "I make the same beer as I did in Germany. The public buys it like crazy."

The owners of microbreweries say that the big companies have missed a marketing opportunity by not being receptive enough to consumer demand for a variety of brands with more distinctive flavors. Said Frank Heaps, president of Toronto-based Upper Canada Brewing Company, which began producing additive-free lager and ale in early August. "You are not talking the brewer into what beer you like, the brewers are talking you."

Some experts counter that the big beer companies do not make chemical-free beer because the market for it is not large enough. Said Kenneth Kitchin, publisher of *The Wine Times*, a monthly Toronto-based consumer magazine that covers the wine and beer industry. "Natural beer has a shelf life of six weeks to six months. The big companies, who produce wine distribute systems, depend on a product that lasts for nine months to a year."

Indeed, there are other signs that consumers may be dissatisfied with mainstream beer. One signal is the increas-

ence of brew pubs—drinking establishments that produce their own beer for sale solely on the premises and that are now legal in six provinces and are operating in British Columbia, Manitoba and Nova Scotia.

Drinkers who want a beer to their individual taste are also turning to the new homebrew kits, which contain everything needed to make beer at home. The cost is about 30 cents a bottle, compared to an average retail price of 70 cents. Greg Charleston-Kelly, 35, owner of Vancouver's The U-Brew Shoppe, which sells brew kits, said that with the right marketing home brewers could capture five per cent of the total market, up from the one per cent they have now.

For their part, beer industry analysts say that the emergence of small breweries, brew pubs or home brewing will not seriously harm the sales of the giants. Said Bruce Securities' Palmer. "The small independents will not generate enough cash to market their product on TV, so they will never gain any significant market share." And despite occasional by-crit-

ics that the brands of the big three market leaders largely taste the same, beer executives say they are only satisfying consumers' preferences. For one thing, the companies are concentrating on developing new light beers in order to attract an increasingly health-conscious customer. Labatt, for one, spends \$1.5 million a year on research, much of it on light beer recipes.

More troubling to the beer companies is the threat of U.S. imports, particularly in British Columbia and Alberta. American beers such as Rainier, Olympia and GM Milwaukee now have between six and eight per cent of sales in the two provinces. And critics by Canadian brewery workers in recent years have helped to boost the sale of imports because consumers switched their allegiance to U.S. brands when their regular brands became unavailable.

Lower prices for U.S. beer sold in Canada are also a good incentive to buy foreign. In Alberta, U.S. beer is now selling for 30 cents to \$2.45 less per dozen than Canadian beer—despite the fact that domestic brewers have already dropped their prices. It is cheaper for U.S. companies to make beer, according to Harley Deeks, president of Malton Alberta Brewery Ltd., because they enjoy cheaper milk prices, lower taxes and labor costs that are less than half of what they are in Canada.

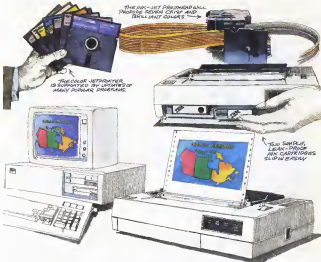
Fear of even greater U.S. competition has made domestic beer companies resolutely opposed to free trade between the two neighbors. Because provincial regulations force beer companies to operate breweries in each province in which they sell their product, giants are smaller and less efficient than those in the United States. Said Carling's McNamee. "Miller has one plant in Ohio that could supply all the beer consumed annually in Ontario and Quebec."

For now, the large domestic breweries will continue to plan their strategies to win back or gain market share. Malton's Keyworth, for one, confirmed that his company is talking with Colorado-based Coors (Adolph) to about whether to launch the brand in Canada. And the expensive TV ad campaigns show no signs of abating. Red Keyworth. "Any brewer who says things are going to get better overnight is just naive."

—ROBERT COLLIER, with GREG FETTERLAND in Vancouver, JEFFREY LUTER in Calgary, GARY REID in Winnipeg, TIM POWERS in Toronto, BRUCE WALKER in Montreal and PETER GARD in Newfoundland



Keyworth: fighting back



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A media marriage of convenience



Offord getting solid support for the Southern family and their friends

The top executives of the two media giants first talked about an association between their Toronto-based companies 15 years ago. But when a deal between Southern Inc. and Torstar Corp. was finally signed last week, it followed an intense weekend of negotiations which did not end until just before dawn on Monday morning. The reason for the urgency: Southern's executives have been worried some time that a corporate raider was preparing to launch a takeover bid for the 15-newspaper chain, Canada's largest in circulation. That underlying concern was evident in the second faculty assembled by St. Clair Halliday, Southern's executive vice-president, Torstar's president of the Toronto Star, the country's largest daily, had agreed to a share exchange that gave each company a substantial interest in the other and that effectively prevented a hostile takeover of the company.

Investors reacted nervously in heavy trading on the Toronto Stock Exchange, individuals who had gambled that a takeover bid would increase the value of Southern's shares expressed their disappointment by selling the stock. By the end of last week, the share price dropped to \$14.50 from \$17.50. But some commentators welcomed the new arrangement. Thomas Kret, chairman of the 1981 royal commission on newspapers, for one, said that if Southern had been taken over by a non-newspaper operator—one that would probably have spent less than Southern on editorial production—the consequences for readers would have been serious.

For their part, Southern newspaper publishers—who have traditionally operated their papers with a minimum of interference from head office—expressed relief. David Offord, publisher of the Calgary Herald, "if you are facing a takeover, this is the least worst alternative. I think it means business as usual."

Beland Hoffert, received a 30-per-cent voting interest in Southern in exchange for giving Southern a 30-per-cent ownership stake in Torstar. The shares were worth a total of \$24.6 million on paper, but no money changed hands. Then, the day after the accord was announced, Torstar strengthened its stake when it exercised an option in the deal to purchase another five per cent of Southern's stock, bringing its holdings to 35 per cent. At the same time, Hoffert said that family members will have the Southern Group, a voting bloc with at least 20 per cent of Southern's shares. The combined Torstar and Southern Group holdings amount for a minimum of 45 per cent of Southern shares. But analysts estimate that the two companies will likely now have control of just over 50 per cent of the shares, ending the threat of a takeover.

The arrangement also contains a number of other provisions that guarantee Southern's autonomy. Should Torstar decide to sell its shares, for example, Southern has the right of first refusal. That ensures "the Southern family and its friends will have solid control," Hoffert said. Hoffman's

One of the few critics of the deal was David Offord, conservative critic for the New Democratic Party, who called the share exchange a "marriage without a deadline." Offord added that the transaction had "serious implications for Canadian journalism and deserves careful examination by the government before further steps are taken to amalgamate the two corporations." The commission investigation branch of the federal commerce and corporate affairs department is studying the Torstar-Southern transaction as a matter of course, an official said.

But Southern and Torstar executives said that there will be no reduction in newspaper competition because of the deal. Southern and Southern newspapers compete directly only in Barrie, Ont.—30 km southwest of Toronto. There, The Toronto Star's circulation of 4,951 copies that of Southern's Hamilton Spectator with 34,500 subscribers.

Both companies also say that they plan to stay out of each other's businesses in addition to its daily papers. Southern holdings also include the weekly *Financial Times*

of Canada, 100 trade and professional publications, a printing company and Colas Books Station Ltd. For its part, Torstar, whose flagship Toronto Star is published by the venerable Hollinger Enterprises Ltd., 30 community newspapers in Ontario operated by Metro and Printing & Publishing Ltd., and a direct-mail company. Said David Jeffrey, president of Torstar's newspaper and printing divisions: "Our arrangement does not call for either side to play an operating role in the other's business." The two companies have co-operated in the past, as well. Southern and Torstar operated as joint owners the now-defunct Southern Publishers Ltd., which in the 1970s published supplement magazines the *Canadian Star Weekly* and *Canadian Magazine* for inclusion in weekend newspapers. More recently, the two have been partners in Teleport Inc., which markets "videotex," a computer assisted, two-way television system. But Torstar has withdrawn because it has been unprofitable.

For the business community, Southern and Torstar's latest collaboration in a unique. Edward Walter, a securities lawyer and partner in the Toronto office of Dillon, Elliott, said that it "introduces a new and effective generation of defensive techniques into Canada's." Indeed, the share swap arrangement is so unusual that it is not covered in a draft policy that the Ontario Securities Commission, which regulates the Toronto Stock Exchange, is preparing an takeover defenses.

The arrangement brought to an end a three-month attempt by Southern's board of directors to find an effective defense against a possible takeover attempt. In June, after heavy trading in Southern stock convinced management that a takeover bid was imminent, the board asked shareholders to pass bylaws amendments that would have created serious obstacles to an unfriendly acquisition. But Southern encountered fierce opposition from shareholders who argued that the so-called short-sell clause would have restricted their financial voting rights. Shareholders finally passed watered-down bylaw changes, but analysts said that the directors found they were not willing to protect the company.

Southern's directors are now searching for a replacement for the company's former president, Gordon Fiske, 68, who died in August of cancer without having groomed a successor. The past uncertainty surrounding the company's future has made that task difficult. But, said Hoffman, "the search for a new president has begun."

—SANDY FIFE with MICHAEL BALZOR in Toronto

Putting CNCP on hold

For Jack Southern, president of CNCP Telecommunications, the decision was a bitterly disappointing end to a two-year fight to break into the lucrative long-distance telephone market. Last week the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission rejected an application by the Toronto-based telecommunications company to offer cheaper long-distance service to three provinces—Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia—in competition with Montreal-based Bell Canada Ltd. and British

service. Bell Canada argued that any lost profits would have to be replaced by raising local service costs.

Still, in its decision the CRTC was not rejecting the principle of long-distance competition—only CNCP's application. The commission added that CNCP's offer to pay Bell and BCTel compensation to replace lost long-distance profits—so the subsidization of local rates would not be a net loss for CNCP.

In fact, the commission announced that it would hold hearings later this year to consider raising local phone



Southern's bitter charges of a "campaign of misinformation" by opponents

Columbia Telephone Co. CNCP's plan, comments on the CRTC's plan, comments on the three provinces would have paid 30 per cent less than they do now for long-distance calls. But the CRTC ruled that the CNCP application would also have jeopardized the company's own financial stability and forced up local rates to offset the loss in revenue from long-distance calls. Southern declared, "We would not have made the application if we did not think we could do it."

The decision surprised industry observers who had anticipated that increased competition in the telecommunications business was inevitable under a federal government committed to deregulation. Instead, the CRTC accepted arguments advanced by the telephone companies, wire and consumer groups that competition in the long-distance market would have reduced the ability of some Canadians to afford a telephone. Because it used the profits from long-distance service to subsidize the cost of the money-losing local phone

rates. It accepted Bell and BCTel's arguments that even without long-distance competition, lower long-distance rates are needed to help Canadian businesses improve their position in international markets. Until that issue is resolved the CRTC will work from long-distance rates. Said Deborah Hughes-Groff, speaking for the National Anti-Foreign Ownership Committee: "The decision is a stay of execution, not a reprieve."

For its part, CNCP, which created several million dollars in new equipment in anticipation of victory, showed its defeat on an "ungracious example of non-compliance" by its opponents. It claimed that several provincial phone companies had estimated erroneously that the company's plan would cause local sales to drop by as much as 500 per cent. Said Southern: "We have received nothing but anything to maximize their misapprehensions."

—ANN WOLINSKY with KEN POLE in Ottawa

McGillivray rivalry



Seizing a golden opportunity

By Peter C. Newman

Canada's long-neglected gold mines are reaching for new life, as the townships events in South Africa, which produced nearly two-thirds of the world's gold, threaten the consistency of bullion supply.

Among the entrepreneurs most likely to benefit from this flush of events is the agile duo of Peter Munk and David Gilman, the longtime wild kids of Clarendon fame, who now run Barrick Resources Corp. In partnership with Adrian Khushfaj, the legendary president of Middle East Finance, and Prince Nawaf of the Saudi Arabian ruling family, they have put together a quintet of producing properties that already ranks them among the top 10 gold producers in North America. Within the next year Munk and his partners intend to acquire at least three more gold mines, which will move them to or near the top of the list of bullion producers outside of South Africa. "A few years down the line," Munk told me recently, "when European pension funds invest in gold, they will have to switch from South Africa to North America. The value of gold properties on this continent—quite apart from gold going up as a hedge against the falling dollar—is sure to rise dramatically. People buy gold for security reasons, and you don't buy insurance from a company doing business on top of a volcano."

Munk's company has achieved an astounding turnaround: Only two years ago Barrick was a very minor player, mainly into oil and gas. After several disastrous experiences with oil properties in the United States, Munk switched to gold, partly because bullion properties were then almost entirely undervalued and because his European and Middle East shareholders are security-oriented enough to believe in gold. "We analyzed how to get most economically into the business and concluded that the best entry point was not through stocks or options or gold bars but to buy producers and prospects that still have the staff in the ground. That way you generate revenues while waiting for the gold price to rise."

Barrick's first gold venture was the legendary Bonanza mine near Reno, Nev. That was followed by the Valdez Creek operation in Alaska, which was almost as lukewarm. Then, a year ago Munk bit it lucky by buying out the overvalued but valuable assets of Canada Mines Ltd., a deep shaft east of

Viollet, Que., which has an annual output of up to 50,000 ounces of gold. The company was more than \$20 million in debt to the Royal Bank, mainly because of its misguided diversification into gas and oil. Munk raised \$30 million in cash from his friends in Canada and the United States and promptly sold off \$30 million of Canada's energy assets. He now runs a near debt-free company.

Barrick shares have jumped 30 per cent since July, as the 700's gold index

and his partners have bought in for \$40 million (U.S.). The shaft is expected to reach an annual output of 100,000 ounces of gold this year, accounting for half of Barrick's production.

"I feel very good about it," Munk purrs, "because there are gold mining companies which have been in business for decades and still only a quarter of what we do. I don't know what it is, but I just can't stop trying to grow."

The 44-66-per-cent interest in Barrick owned by Munk and Gilman is worth at least \$70 million, as well as Khushfaj and Nawaf, other investors include Norman Short of Toronto's Guardian Capital Group, Joe Rotman, a Canadian investor rapidly expanding his natural resource base, and Sunbelt Mortgage & Co., represented by senior partner David Hinde, the British merchant banker who helped set the daily value of Deitel, along with the Redwoods. The Kuwait Investment Office in London recently purchased a sizable block of Barrick stock.

To reduce its exposure to fluctuations in the price of gold, the company has pioneered a hedging program which involves selling part of its production under "put" options that allow the forward-selling of royalties. This gives Barrick the right (but not the obligation) to sell gold at predetermined price levels.

What Munk and his associates are putting together could become a major, world-class company, and it's all based on his gamble, two years ago, that South Africa would blow up and that gold properties located in more stable parts of the world would benefit.

"The idea seems brilliant," he says, "but I went to major British and Canadian investment sources just 12 months ago, trying to raise capital on the basis of what was being said to happen in South Africa—and they laughed. They didn't realize once such catastrophes happen, it's much better to have been a few minutes early than one second late."

Munk predicts a bloody decimation to the larger transmigration of the African whites. "They're very tough. This will be as Rhodesia, where there were 200,000 people with British passports and 6.5 million blacks. Here there are almost five million whites with no passports and 30 million blacks. The whites cannot be pushed out of South Africa. They have nowhere to go. It is going to be a long, protracted struggle. There is no solution."



Munk: a proponent for pushing

reached new highs, while South Africa gold stocks dropped by one-third or more and last week stopped trading altogether. Munk's most dramatic purchase was this summer's acquisition of the Mercus gold mine in northern Utah, 50 km southwest of Salt Lake City. Paid Getty asset \$120 million (U.S.) in taking the open-pit operation of this rich property dating back to 1870. Now Munk

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Feeding an appetite for violent crime

The drawing left nothing to the imagination. Reproduced in full color as the front page of the Montreal-based tabloid *A30 Polaris*, it showed a shirtless man in a wheelchair "screaming horror as a shotgun blast fired from close range ripped open his stomach. The murder, birth of Hail, Quebec, of the 30-year-old paraplegic was one of five in the province covered in a recent issue of the French-language crime weekly. The material is the stock-in-trade of *A30 Polaris* but many observers say they expect that the paper's editorial policy will change following its purchase last week by a Montreal businessman and Richard Desmarais, the former editor of its creditors' rival, *Photo-Police*. Indeed, they expect that Desmarais will make *A30* even ruder, following a formula that made *Photo-Police* a major success. That paper, which also specializes in covering crime, recently featured a front-page photograph of the bloodied, partially decayed corpse of a member of the Hells Angels motorcycle gang.

Quebec's superlatively murder sheets are unique in Canada. And while critics denounce them as macabre, they continue to find an audience. Said Jean-Pierre Bessant, one of two staff photographers at *Photo-Police*, who often speeds to the scene of a crime before the police: "People sit it up, often, they tell you what a disgusting paper *Photo-Police* is. Then they turn around and say how much they like a story on the mac."

Ever since *A30 Polaris* discovered the market in 1963 and attracted an almost instant circulation of 300,000, a garish crime press has been a noticeable feature on Quebec's cultural landscape. Currently, the two tabloids, along with the much smaller *Hydro Police*, together sell more than 200,000 issues a week in the province, with *A30 Polaris*'s readership swelling into five copious pockets of New Brunswick and Northern Ontario. But the self-styled "judicial" tabloids are merely the least one of a much larger crime cult within the Montreal media. With its history of bank robbers, drug traffickers and often-violent underworld gangs, the city—Canada's perennial media capital—has spawned a colorful and competitive branch of crime reporting which extends into radio and daily newspapers as well.

Indeed, *Le Journal de Montreal* (circulation 350,000), its home-looked news pages rich with crime and violence, has earned its place as Canada's best-selling newspaper (after *The Times*

to *Star*, circulation 500,000) and its debt to *A30 Polaris* is obvious. Said Luc Gosselin, coauthor of a 1979 study on violence in Quebec's print media: "*A30 Polaris* has played a very influential role in the development of the press here."

Such services are especially welcome to *A30 Polaris* editor Georges-André

Desmarais. *Photo-Police* for running a front-page artist's representation of a female child being sexually molested by an adult male. And while it only listed 35 issues, a new crime tabloid launched last year—*Special Police*—received additional accolades by publishing photos of a murdered child's decaying body. De-



Desmarais, *Photo Polaris* (below), crime pays for Quebec's racy "judicial" tabloids.

Desmarais, whose paper's weekly circulation has sunk to below 80,000 from a mid-1990s peak of 260,000 as it lost ground to the rival *Photo-Police*. A 20-year veteran of tabloids, he contends that his staff of five reporters covers murders and murder trials accurately and ethically. In fact, few readers criticize either paper for macabre. What sets them apart is the detail with which they report murders, murder trials and coroners' inquests. When a Canadian Armed Forces corporal allegedly killed a 25-year-old man in Port Coulonge, Que., recently, *A30*'s story ran 3½ pages and contained 19 photographs.

Still, Desmarais says that the paper—as "institution" in his eyes—suffers as a result of its competitors' success. Last March the Quebec Press Council de-

clared the 40-year-old Paron: "Socially, it can be hard for you to see this business. You feel obliged to prove to people that you are not an outside." But he adds that he does not expect that to be a problem much longer. He does not think murders and murder trials will survive as editor under *A30 Polaris*'s new owner, Desmarais.

Desmarais made no apologies for *Photo-Police*, which he edited until last week, when he and businessman Claude Paré bought *A30*. When Desmarais arrived at the paper last year, the publication was in the middle of a crisis. Its entire editorial staff resigned and started publishing the ultimately unsuccessful *Special Police*. But Desmarais, 36, managed to surmount the setbacks without missing a issue. Now, with an average weekly circulation of 140,000, the paper is a "suc-

cessful

cessful enterprise, and some employees say that it serves as much as 31 million annually for the state of its founder, the late Montreal criminal lawyer Raymond Desmarais. Deceased Desmarais: "I am capable of doing other things. I am here by choice. It isn't dull."

As the resounding star of Montreal crime reporters, Desmarais epitomizes the gray-widowhood competitiveness. In addition to his new interest in *A30 Polaris*, he will continue to work at the radio station where he began working 12 years ago. Following a disciplined regimen, he begins his work day at 5:30 a.m.

Montreal for 25 years. Chats-and-chats and dinner, Paron has now settled into an afternoon radio show but he retains the enthusiasm of a rookie reporter. In addition to his radio show, he contributes a column to *A30 Polaris*, as well as police news stories to the Sunday tabloid *Weekend-Matin*. Deceased Paron, who first sighted Quebec's crime business: "You have to be available to people in this business or someone else is going to get the story. People can get in touch with me."

Montreal crime reporters have occasionally become news themselves. Par-

on's own arrest and shot him, wounding him in the arm. Then, in 1976, *Le Journal de Montreal* fired reporter Claude Jodanis for a false story. In the paper to arrest the ruthless Dufour gang, with which he had become involved. Jodanis, who then became a business partner of Claude Dufour, has since turned on his criminal associates. He became a police informer. Said Charbonneau: "A lot of these gangsters are charismatic individuals. It is easy to fall in with them. In my mind, that is the greatest danger in crime reporting."

Still, Montreal's crime reporters have prospered with the public with a feed-back window on the city's underworld, as well as straight news breaks. Paron proudly points to his paper's 1983 story that disclosed that female strippers had performed for inmates at Archaic prison, north of Montreal, after then-editor general Robert Kaplan had said in the Commons that he was aware of any such performances. Three crime academics praise the crime weeklies for the thoroughness of their coverage. West Georgia University sociology professor Taylor Buckner was researching a documentary on the late Montreal gangster Richard Blais, whose crimes included the murder of 15 people in a single incident, he said that he found "the most full record" in the files of *A30 Polaris*. Deceased Buckner, a former Oakland, Calif., policeman: "There was no other place where I could have gathered that information."

Still, the predominant academic view is that the crime weeklies are a social pollutant. One criminologist, University of Montreal professor Micheline Baril, says that the newspapers promote a number brand of sequestration. Deceased Baril: "They are a type of pornography. In my mind, they maintain and encourage attitudes that are not very healthy."

Montreal professor Micheline Baril, says that the newspapers promote a number brand of sequestration. Deceased Baril: "They are a type of pornography. In my mind, they maintain and encourage attitudes that are not very healthy." The *Le Journal de Montreal* owner Pierre Péladeau, looking for increased respectability and new, more affluent readers, has ordered the paper to tone down its sensational coverage of violent crime. Said the paper's new editor, Jean-François LeBlanc: "It is no longer necessary to put the victim's head rolled 20 feet. We will leave that market to *A30 Polaris* and *Photo-Police*." But the daily tabloid has no intention of abandoning all the elements of its original sensationalism. Last year *Le Journal* hired Michel Aupiais, a veteran investigative crime reporter who served as director of research for the CBC's 1976 organized crime documentary, *Conscience Canadienne*. In the second night of the market dominated by *A30 Polaris* in the Quebec media, crime reporting gaps.

—DEN ROSSER in Montreal



Paron, *Photo Polaris* (below), a major influence in the development of Quebec's press.

breaking a six-minute roundup of provincial judicial news. Desmarais has filed as many as 15 subsequent reports through the day. Last year he also co-wrote a biography on Donald Leves, a contract killer turned police informer who was involved in 27 killings reported for Montreal's Dufour Brothers gang.

Desmarais made no apologies for *Photo-Police*, which he edited until last week, when he and businessman Claude Paré bought *A30*. When Desmarais arrived at the paper last year, the publication was in the middle of a crisis. Its entire editorial staff resigned and started publishing the ultimately unsuccessful *Special Police*. But Desmarais, 36, managed to surmount the setbacks without missing a issue. Now, with an average weekly circulation of 140,000, the paper is a "suc-

cessful

er, for one, has been called in to moderate 27 hearings taking incidents in the Montreal region since the 20th, mainly at the criminal's request. And one day in 1970, when current Parti Québécois MNA



Jean-Pierre Charbonneau, was turning out hard-bitten organized crime exposés for the respected Montreal daily *Le Devoir*, an associate of underworld chieftain Phélie walked into Char-



Swiss Air's Boeing 737 in Manchester: increasing public concern over air safety

AVIATION

A trail of disasters

It is a tragic geographic roll call: Mount Oga in Spain, Mount Oostuka in Japan, Dallas in America and Manchester in England, and a spot in the Atlantic Ocean 110 miles southwest of Cork, Ireland. The locations have been the scene of the worst air crashes in 1985. In all, 1,168 people have died in the disasters. Indeed, with the fatal civil aviation death toll in 1985 estimated to be about 1,600, this year already leads all others in fatalities. And public anxiety about airline safety increased last week when officials of Britain's Civil Aviation Authority ordered the grounding of at least five Boeing 737s after a fire on Aug. 22 aboard a British Airways 737 in Manchester killed 34 of its 121 passengers. The possible cause, deterioration in the combustion chambers of one of the jet's two Pratt & Whitney JT8D-15 engines, investigators discovered similar cracks in the grounded 737's engines.

The JT8D-15 is part of Pratt & Whitney's JT8D line, the most widely used jet engine series in the world. Last week the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) ordered all the country's airlines to inspect the engines, unsatisfying speculation that there might be a serious design flaw in the 5,000-JT8D-15s now in worldwide use. Said John O'Hara, director of engineering and air safety at the U.S. Airline Pilot Association: "I would guess that there is such a flaw likely if the FAA has instructed airlines to inspect." Earl Hartford, Con-Quest Press & Whitney issued a similar ad-

visory to world airlines and its own emergency engineers to Britain to co-operate with British investigators. But company spokesman David Long told *Maclean's*: "We don't believe there was any inherent fault in the engine. We have never had any situation with the catastrophic results of the Manchester crash."

Still, last week the pilot of a Boeing 737 was forced to make an emergency landing in London after one of the plane's JT8D-15s apparently overhauled. And in Cleveland officials delayed the departure of a United Airlines 737 for 44 minutes after a similar engine suffered a valve malfunction. Officials at Air Canada, which operates more than 30 737s and 737s equipped with JT8D-15s, reported that more than a year ago mechanics had replaced or repaired the combustion chambers of an unspecified number of JT8D-15s after routine safety checks uncovered potentially dangerous cracks. Since then, said company spokesman Norman Garwood, Air Canada has carried out frequent X-ray inspections on its JT8D-15s.

Some experts say that other potential problems in aircraft throughout the world may remain undetected despite the extensive maintenance programs carried out by airlines. Said Edward Connelley of the New York-based Institute for Safety in Transportation, a public interest group: "There are thousands of possibilities of what can go wrong. And even the best maintenance program can't really check each and every individual part." Air Canada personnel

conduct daily checks, layover checks and a demanding series of inspections which culminate in the "D check," an exhaustive structural examination after 10,000 to 14,000 flight hours.

Still, even such a thorough system did not prevent the incident last month when a Boeing 747-bound Air Canada 737 made an emergency landing at Toronto's Lester B. Pearson International Airport after inexplicably losing cabin pressure. And in 1980 the Boeing Corp. issued a directive to airlines around the world advising them to institute special checks on Boeing 747s that had been built in the 1970s. The reason: possible metal fatigue and stresses in structural parts that may not have been noted during normal inspections.

In fact, some airline officials acknowledge that even the most exhaustive maintenance programs can be inadequate. Still, some critics contend that safety is further jeopardized because of all airlines' reliance on minimum-requirements lists, which detail the malfunctioning parts that can remain unrepaired for short periods while an aircraft is kept in service. Indeed, an internal Air Canada report concluded that the decision to allow a 737 with broken fuel gauges to take off from Montreal in the summer of 1983 contributed to the fire. Because the ground crew made an error in connection with checking the plane's fuel supply with measuring sticks, the plane ran out of fuel over Northern Ontario and was forced to glide in an emergency landing in Guelph, Ont. And last week officials of Japan Air Lines acknowledged that one of its 747s flew for two days with a damaged rear door, which, at one point, was kept in the locked position with tape—six days after the air crash in August that killed 500 people.

Japanese investigators have not yet established the cause of that disaster, although they say that the pilot lost control of the aircraft when the plane's four hydraulic systems—without which maneuvering is assumed to be impossible—malfunctioned. One part of the tail assembly broke off in midair. But last week JAL pilots said that, after approximating the doomed aircraft's behavior on flight simulators, they discovered that by alternately throttling the right and left engines and by increasing and decreasing power they might conceivably have flown the plane to Tokyo. JAL captain Yumotoh Tokumoto said that landing the jumbo jet would have been difficult. But he added that pilots should be trained to handle total hydraulic-system breakdowns rather than just partial malfunctions.

—PIETER KOPPELLEN with JULIA DENNETT in Toronto and PETER MICHAEL in Tokyo

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The grim costs of high-speed chases

With its lights turned off, the light-colored car was practically invisible as it travelled along a two-lane highway 150 km north of London, Ont., one evening last month. Behind the fast-moving vehicle an officer in an Ontario Provincial Police cruiser was pursuing a driver who had allegedly refused his request to stop an action that resulted in a chase which reached speeds of 160 km/h. Then, 10 minutes after the chase began, a large 1970 Oldsmobile slammed broadside into another cruiser which had been making a U-turn on the narrow highway to join the pursuit. Both cars burst into flames, killing two teenage girls and a 24-year-old policeman. The fiery Aug. 3 crash ended Ontario's 1985 death toll in high-speed police chases to seven. Said Diana Watson, whose 17-year-old daughter, Helen, died on what was to have been her wedding day: "There is not a better way to go about preventing traffic fatalities."

Police later charged 30-year-old Kevin Kohler of Brantford, Ont., with driving while his license was suspended,

failing to stop for police and criminal negligence causing death and injury. At the same time, the collision on Highway 9 renewed concern about the usefulness of high-speed police chases—a law enforcement tactic that is governed by widely varying guidelines. Last year

'No member will be criticized if he elects in the interests of safety not to pursue a vehicle which refuses to stop'

alone, Ontario police officers were involved in 1,647 chases—more than 70 per cent of them in pursuit of traffic offenders—which resulted in six fatalities. During the same period, Nova Scotia had the country's second-highest number of chase-related fatalities with four deaths, but there were only 53 police pursuits across the province. One reason: the province's Motor Vehicle Act

allows police to reveal a vehicle's license number and break off pursuit when a driver has done nothing more than break such traffic regulations as exceeding the speed limit. Then police can issue a summons holding the vehicle owner responsible for the violation.

Ontario Solicitor General Kenneth Keen—who will receive a legislative committee report on high-speed chases later this month which may recommend copying Nova Scotia's law—has already called for tougher guidelines. Said Keen: "In some instances chases are acceptable—where pursuing an obvious hit and run, a bank robbery, a murder or some perpetrated crime by an individual." But in Ontario police officers and politicians are divided on the best method of apprehending drivers who refuse to stop for police. For one thing, Keen questioned the need for police to chase motorists for minor traffic infractions. But Metropolitan Toronto Police Chief Jack Marko says that his officers pursue drivers who ignore stop signs "because there must be a reason for not stopping." He noted that in 1984, almost 59

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per cent of the 206 motorists stopped after a chase were either impaired or had a beer driving with suspended licenses.

By contrast, Calgary police do not chase drivers for running red lights and they break off high-speed pursuits for serious offences if they fail to catch the driver within two minutes at most. Indeed, the force's guidelines state that "no member will be criticised if he elects in the interests of safety not to persist or continue to pursue a vehicle which refuses to stop." And the RCMP, which acts as a provincial police force in every province except Quebec and Ontario, leaves a pursuit decision to the officer on the spot. Still, whenever possible, force members try to stop a fleeing vehicle by radioing ahead to colleagues. They're not back the escape route with a \$500-spiked belt which pinches tires and deflates them slowly.

Under Ontario's Highway Traffic Act, police can't stop a driver before seeing his license. Marka wants the law changed, giving police the power to seize vehicles (forcing them through license plate checks) if their drivers ignore an officer's request to stop. And if the owner was not in his car when the infraction occurred, he would have to reveal the identity of the driver to police. Said Marka: "The car should be on the owner to show why his car should not be



Keyes: new concerns, tougher guidelines

impounded for 30 days."

Meanwhile, ask U.S. cities in Los Angeles use helicopters to chase out one or another of their city's 25 helicopters in the air at all times. And after joining a pursuit its crew regularly transmits the fleeing car's escape route, allowing a dispatcher to send cruisers to an interception point in Baltimore—where high-speed chases have been banned for five years. Five helicopter crews have helped to apprehend more than 80 per cent of the drivers who refuse to stop for police. Said Baltimore police spokesman Arlene Jenkins: "It is better to allow the criminal to escape than to chase him at high speeds and separate everyone on the street."

Still, both Marka and Keyes say that choppers have their drawbacks. Most police pursuits in the Metropolitan Toronto area last less than three minutes, according to Marka, and he estimated that a helicopter would need about 10 minutes to reach the scene. As well, a helicopter crew would have had difficulty finding the car travelling without lights through the darkest countryside along Highway 9 last month. Added Marka: "I agree that we are looking at a dangerous situation, but the problem could be largely reversed if the proper legislation is enacted."

—PAUL BARTON in Toronto

COMPUTERS

Animation by microchip

It is only seven minutes and 50 seconds long, but *Tony de Peltrix*, an animated film about an elderly barman's present rummaging about his glory days, may change the style of animation forever. Created by four young Montreal computer designers and filmmakers, the film—screened last week at the Montreal World Film Festival—is the first publicly shown computer-generated film to feature a realistic, three-dimensional character with lifelike facial features and expressions. Indeed, when the film premiered in its July at the 12th annual meeting of the Association for Computing Machinery's Special Interest Group on Computer Graphics in San Francisco, the association's judges chose it—out of 380 other entries—to close the show. Declared John Lasseter, one of the first judges and a computer animator with Lucasfilm in Marin County, Calif., 35 km north of San Francisco: "Years from now *Tony de Peltrix* will be looked upon as the landmark piece, where real, fleshy characters were first animated by computer."

To enable *Tony*'s film's main character—to shrug, laugh, sing and play intricate piano parts, the Montreal team had to design two new complementary computer systems. One, *GAPS*—which stands for digital animation display software—is the basic operating system. The other, a powerful new graphics program called *TAARNA*, allows the depiction of such subtle movements as the slow closing of an eyelid more realistically than was possible in most previous computer animation, in which characters generally moved awkwardly and mechanically. Said Philippe Bergeron, 35, who programmed *Tony*'s facial expressions: "We knew what the state of the art was and that we were ahead of the rest of the industry. We have proven that it is possible for a computer to create animated characters."

Still, the making of *Tony de Peltrix*, which took three years and \$5 million, was a painstaking, laborious process. Indeed, to complete it in time for the computer graphics animation screening, members of the team worked in a windowless room lashed to them by the University of Montreal, in round-the-clock shifts, seven days a week for most of the past year. And although the system allows animators to create characters that are more realistic and three-dimensional than those in conventional frame-by-frame animation, some experts say that the process must be re-



Bergeron: more realistic and flexible

vised to have any wider applications. Said Lasseter: "The technique is time-consuming and expensive and has limited commercial applications at this stage."

For their part, the Montreal team members acknowledge that their technique has limitations. Said Pierre Lapointe, 38, who originally conceived the project and produced the film: "What we have done will not be of much use to beer companies. It is the Walt Disney Studios, for example, who will benefit from our breakthrough." Indeed, they say that they have already had informal discussions with such U.S. film companies as Lucasfilm and Walt Disney Productions about possible joint projects and add that they want to keep the *Tony de Peltrix* character alive. Said Lapointe: "It's warm and flexible."

Bergeron says that he hopes *Tony de Peltrix*'s artistic success will open possibilities of working on full-length computer-animated films. Declared Bergeron: "Now that we know computer character animation is possible, we must develop a number of characters. We are at the same stage now, at our technological level, as Walt Disney was when he designed his first character." Clearly, *Tony de Peltrix* may yet achieve the immortality of Mickey Mouse.

—BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal

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TELEVISION

The music of loneliness

GLENN GOULD, A PORTRAIT
(CBC, Sept. 8)

Before he died in 1983 at 56, pianist Glenn Gould had earned a reputation as a recluse who talked to his friends mainly on the telephone. Still, he appeared frequently on Canadian television—usually at the piano but occasionally in such unexpected roles as host in the acclaimed *Other series*. Now, Vincent Towell and Eric Till, two directors who worked on Gould's television concerts, have assembled a two-hour tribute, featuring clips of the great artist and recent interviews with his friends. The resulting program is a brisk pastiche which contains many moving and insightful passages. But *Glenn Gould: A Portrait* is often sentimental and overly busy, a harsh contrast to the pianist's severity and poise of the pianist's own work at the keyboard.

Gould's career falls naturally into two distinct chapters, which form the basis for the program's two parts. The first hour, directed by Towell, traces Gould's development from his boyhood in Toronto to his controversial decision to abandon the concert stage in 1964, at age 20. The program opens with a litany of brief testimonials from celebrities who beheld the obvious fact of Gould's importance. In the background his piano constantly churns—a distracting technique which both Towell and Till avow as But Towell's focus on the man becomes more intimate. Several close associates, including critic Robert Fulford, musician Bruce Munnings and Gould's own father, Russell, offer their personal memories. In revisiting Glenn's boyhood Russell Gould relates that his son tasted a wild shank to temper his chronic loneliness.

But the most captivating moments feature Gould himself. He always seemed to be humble and unassuming enough to play the clown, one charming clip shows him singing the waltz of Gustav Mahler to a herd of elephants at the Metro Toronto Zoo. Such moments make the first part of the program worth watching, but Towell has burdened the production with his own bombastic script, matched by heavy-handed symbolism. The director makes much of

Gould as a modern explorer—and to emphasize that aspect he uses frequent shots of the ruins of Roman at Chacabana near the Gould family's summer home at Lake Simcoe, Ont.

Till has written a much subtler script for the second hour. Focusing on Gould's



Gould's public poise and private unhappiness

later years as a recording artist and writer of radio documentaries, it balances praise for the pianist with glimpses of his pervasive neuroses. Gould was a highly sensitive individual whose hypochondria was legendary—he often wore an overcoat and gloves, even during the summer. And so his cousin Jessie Grieg diagnosed, he remained a lonely man whose isolation intensified after the death of his mother, who had been his first teacher, in 1915.

The evidence of Glenn Gould, *A Portrait* suggests that the pianist created great beauty in defiance of his emotional difficulties. Gould himself might not have approved of such a revelation, but for his many fans it will likely deepen their appreciation of his accomplishments.

—JOHN DEMME

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Mystery and morality—a mix

BORDERLINE

By Jennifer Turner Hospital
(McClelland and Stewart,
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Kristina, Oct., writer Janette Tazewell Hospital is a gifted collector of moral tales, preoccupied with the evading mystery of how to live life best. Her award-winning book, *The Ivory Snow*, explored the spiritual gulf between East and West through a modern woman's sensibility. *The Tiger in the Tiger's Pelt*, her second novel, dealt with the complex theme of family disintegration. In *Borderline*, Hospital's most political and overtly religious book, events in another part of the world suddenly materialize as moral imperatives, asserting their own terrifying demands. Identities are respect, and defenses that guard the self blur and vanish. In the end, the novel collapses into a heap of narrative fragments. It is only because Hospital has attempted to build an ornate Gothic cathedral as a literary age more at ease with the tidy and somber concrete block.

Borderline begins as a tight little thriller. Augustine Kelly, a girl-child and philandering insurance agent, and Felicity Seyers, a routine art historian, both live in fear of their past and the present. Their lives intersect at the New York-Quebec border, when customs inspectors inspect a musty van filled with terrified Latin-American refugees. After discovering one refugee themselves, the two strangers agree to assist the woman over the border to Felicity's Quebec cottage. There, overwhelmed by the responsibility and frightened by a mysterious pursuer, they decide to turn her over to the police. But, left unattended briefly, the woman vanishes.

In *Borderline* divisions between lines, like boundaries between nations, are only arbitrary. Although Augustine and Felicity never meet again face to face, they finally submit to their own overwhelming sense of connection with the enigmatic woman's plight. Felicity calls her "a measure of myself." For Augustine, long lost in consumer culture, the features of sin and success, the woman leads him to a startled recognition of his own spiritual strength. Narrated by Jean-Marie Desnoyers, Felicity's stepson, who acts as their go-between with the refugees, *Borderline* draws the ways in which individuals discover themselves through submission and sacrifice. It uses language and imagery emblemically drawn from Christian myth struck by the woman's circumstance in a favorable painting. Felicity recognizes her Le Magdalene and, like the Biblical Mary Magdalene, she becomes an image of

human suffering and redemption.

But, perhaps inevitably, *Borderline* fails. The characters often seem more vehicles for ideas and they speak an insupportable literary language. When Jean-Marie is drawn into the drama, his philosophical reflections become increasingly intrusive. As well, Hospital's measure of her readers' interpretive ability



Hospital: In search of identity

ty and frequently overstates the obvious when Augustine goes to work in the branch of a Montreal restaurant called Casa Del Diablo (House of the Devil), he telephones Jean-Marie to announce, "I'm in hell." Yet sections of the book are sublime. When Hospital relates the evocative and perfectly rich and vibrant image of Felicity's mother Boston meets, peeling apples and selling meandering rhythmic tales, could be a reference to her own creative gift. "As the spirit of god went sinking into bowls that might have held half the world, so the stories unfolded themselves, and curled up again into new shapes." Almost certainly, Hospital will write better novels. But in an age that has very nearly lost the ability to express concepts of sin and redemption, *Borderline* will stand as a noble attempt to renew a lost allegorical heritage.

—HEATHER NEWBORN

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MEDICINE

Treating a rare killer

Cancer of the liver, a rare disease that strikes an estimated 1,000 Coloradans every year, is almost always fatal. But last month doctors at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, MD, announced that they had developed a new method for treating liver cancer. The new treatment is based from a technique developed six years ago at Johns Hopkins in which antibodies—proteins that seek out and attack specific cells—carry radioactive particles called isotopes directly to a tumor. In this case, the isotopes are injected into the tumor, not the bloodstream. The Baltimore researchers, led by Dr. Stanley Osher, and a drug containing isotopes charged with enough radioactivity not only to reveal the tumor but also to attack it with radiation. Instead of 160 milligrams of isotopes, as in previous studies, they were apparently cured, almost halved, and none experienced the usual side effects—nausea and hair loss—of radiation or drug therapy. Dr. Osher told "It is the first non-surgical cancer therapy that does not

Liver tumors secrete greater amounts of a protein called fibrin than healthy liver cells. Order discovered that family tree-sucking antibodies derived from rabbits, pigs, monkeys or cows could be charged with just enough radioactive iodine to kill cancer cells without harming adjacent tissue. Of the 104 patients—all with advanced liver cancer, which cannot be treated with radiation or chemotherapy and is usually fatal within four months—36 had their tumors reduced by 30 per cent or more. As well, seven patients' tumors apparently disappeared, and of those six has been free of the disease for 1½ years and another for 3½ years.

Each treatment consists of two injections of the drug, administered five days apart. When the treatment is repeated two months later, antibodies from a different animal are used to carry the radiation. The reason: if only one animal's antibodies were used, the patient's immune system would recognize and attack them. Orlow says that in similar Johns Hopkins experiments during the past few years against Heiden's disease, the

nonse—cancer of the lymph nodes and spleen—40 per cent of 38 patients improved after only two treatments. And other U.S. institutions, including the University of California in San Francisco, report similarly encouraging results with the technique.

But scientists elsewhere say that more testing is needed to confirm Oeder's results. Said University of Toronto immunologist Dr. Gary Levy, "We can send an antibody with a 'bomb' on it, but how much of this do we need to get rid of all the tumor? Getting rid of 90 per cent is not good enough." Levy adds that the part of a tumor not killed by the treatment can in fact become resistant to new drugs. As well, other organs such as the spleen also produce ferritin and attract the destructive antibodies.

Meanwhile, Order says that he hopes to develop an antibody-based drug in time for wider clinical tests next year. For his part, Dr. Aaron Malkin, a clinical biochemist at Toronto's Sunnybrook Medical Centre, says that because liver cancer almost always occurs in the wake of other liver diseases such as hepatitis B—which is increasing—doctors expect liver cancer to become more widespread. For that reason, he says that Order's discovery excites him. Said Malkin: "It has considerable potential."

—DANIEL SALABERT in *France*

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Pando and Lepage entering the Place des Arts on opening night, glittery style

FILMS

Competition for Cannes

Opening night of the ninth annual Montreal World Film Festival was a personal coup for founder and director Serge Lepage. Gossip columnists had always eluded him for not attracting enough major stars to Montreal, and critics said that Hollywood gave its major movies to Lepage's arch-rivals at the Festival de Festivals in Toronto. But Lepage at last persuaded director Norman Jewison, who actually sits on the board of the Toronto festival, to premiere his first made-in-Canada feature film, *Apocalypse Now*, in Montreal. With the movie came the movie's star, Jean Pando, who opened the festival at the Aug. 30 debut gala in *Black French and glittery style*.

When Lepage launched the World Film Festival in 1975, he could only attract 36 films from 14 countries. The 1985 edition was mammoth: 306 feature films and 105 shorts from 53 countries, a total of 508 screenings in seven theatres, 18 feature films in competition. Declared Clive Torrey, director of marketing and communications for the Australia Film Commission: "I would say that Montreal is the number 2 festival in the world—in some respects, for us it may even be number 1." He added that in Montreal he can show more films in more outgroups and get a sense of how North American audiences react.

The festival is certainly popular with the Montreal audience, estimated at 250,000 over the 12 days of screenings. Quick outlook included the Yugoslavian film *When Father Was Away on Busi-*

ness, the grand prize winner at Cannes, and the French suspense thriller *On ne meurt que deux fois*, to be released as *Mr. Dead With My Eyes Open*. The 11 Canadian features at the festival also did unusually well. Two low-budget films—Glenn Walker's nearly 80 days and 34-year-old Alberta film-maker David Winning's first feature *Blame*—gained the kind of reviews that could lead to commercial success.

Even the film market attached to the festival, always overshadowed by the ones at Cannes, Milan and Los Angeles, is beginning to earn credibility. Said Victor Lowy, president of Wyndham, one of Canada's largest distributors of European and independent films: "You need to be able to fire a gun through the market and see it anywhere. But this year all the important people from South America and France are here."

Over the years of building his festival, Lepage has heard the cries of opposition slowly grow up to whispers of grudging respect. This week he will announce plans for next year's "biggest film festival in the world": the 10th anniversary edition of the World Film Festival. He plans to pay tribute to the reborn British film industry and open a new section at the festival, Cannes and Paris, to coincide with the United Nations-sponsored Peace Year. Lepage modelled his festival on Cannes—and the World Film Festival is beginning to rival it. All Montreal lacks is a beach.

—WYNE COOPER in Montreal

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Hartig: icebergs, volcanoes and aquatic monsters in an inkky sea of 3.2 million words

PUBLISHING

The anatomy of a nation

It begins with Canada's motto, A mari usque ad mare ("From sea to sea"), and ends with an entry on James Zuckow, the first Canadian aviator to break the sound barrier. In between, *The Canadian Encyclopedia* presents an ink sea of 3.2 million words in more than 5,000 articles, illustrated with nearly 4,000 maps and pictures of everything from polar bears to the telephone. In addition to its physical presence—three volumes packed tightly into a bound set weighing 12½ lb.—the new encyclopedia also carries enormous cultural weight. Writers and academics have already praised it as a historic contribution to Canada's sense of nationhood, while many publishers are huffing its release this week as the most important Canadian publishing event of the year. Declared Maclean's Lentz, president of the Association of Canadian Publishers: "I can't wait to get my copy. For cultural, political and philosophical reasons it is a national event."

For its creator, Edmonton publisher and outspoken nationalist Mel Hartig, *The Canadian Encyclopedia* represents a formidable personal achievement. Six years in the making, the \$10-million project has been a crisis-ridden financial gamble and an editorial nightmare from the outset. But after an aggressive marketing campaign this year, Hartig sold or obtained orders for nearly all of the first and only print run of 154,500 sets, at a cost of as much as \$175 each. Hartig said that the encyclopedia's financial success has made his firm,

which specializes in general scientific, "one of the strongest publishing companies in Canada" and guarantees an expanded and updated edition for 1988.

A truly Canadian encyclopedia has not been introduced to the nation's libraries or living room shelves since Toronto publisher Grolier Canada Ltd. issued a 16-volume set in 1967. In fact, Hartig's dream of a relatively low-cost, frequently encyclopedia first took shape in 1973 while he was waiting a small-town private high school where he found no Canadian reference books—and a student population desperately ignorant about Canada. But Hartig said that acquiring three major national banks of the need for a comprehensive reference work on Canada proved extremely difficult. Even with \$6 million in start-up capital and loan guarantees from the Alberta government, Hartig had to struggle for additional financing.

The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (Hartig's banker for 27 years), the Continental Bank and the Bank of Montreal turned down his request for a \$4-million loan or set conditions that he could not meet. He finally found a financial savior in the Alberta-based Canadian Commercial Bank. Renailed Hartig: "The same banks that will lend \$200 million to multinational banks without blinking an eyelid thought a Canadian encyclopedia was too risky an investment."

Earlier this year Hartig faced another potential obstacle: A group of academics, armed with \$4-million from former secretary of state Serge Joyal,

launched *Horizon Canada*, a weekly, 130-page magazine on Canadian history and culture and called it an encyclopedia. But it quickly became apparent that *Horizon Canada* was not in competition with *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, which received no federal funding. Indeed, the encyclopedia's assembly was a major undertaking, involving 26 full-time employees, 375 academic consultants from across the country and 4,500 contributions, including such prominent figures as Governor General Mack, novelist Margaret Atwood and broadcaster David Suzuki. Under editor-in-chief James Marsh, the staff condensed enough material to fill 16 volumes.

Although some readers will notice omissions, *The Canadian Encyclopedia* is for the most part impressively comprehensive. It includes entries on the fate of Newfoundland's extinct Beothuk tribe, the development of webbing and the Irish prince of Jesus Christ. In addition to its readability, the encyclopedia features a wealth of detail—it even points out that the famed British Columbia Okanagan Lake monster, Ogopogo, takes its name from an Okanagan Indian song.

Hartig is now considering a larger version for young people aged 8 to 14, while a French version is already being prepared and will be issued in 1987. And this month, as 77,000 schools and libraries across the country get five copies of *The Canadian Encyclopedia* as a gift of the Alberta government, many teachers, students and parents may redouble their country in the three bulky volumes.

—ANDREW KAPLAN in Edmonton

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- 1 *Shattered Glass*, King (H)
- 2 *It's Tomorrow, Canada*, Johnston (H)
- 3 *The Color House*, Bales, Pinsky (H)
- 4 *Loose*, Callaghan (H)
- 5 *The Fourth Deadly Sin*, Henderson (H)
- 6 *Chaparrone*, Jones, Herbert (H)
- 7 *Jahad*, Sarraf, J. Mason (H)
- 8 *The Hanging House*, Smith (H)
- 9 *My Sister Sam*, Smith (H)
- 10 *Confessions*, Proulx

Nonfiction

- 1 *Isacson, Jensen with Marsh* (H)
- 2 *Yaport, Taylor and Jones* (H)
- 3 *A Passion for Excellence*, Rogers and Austin (H)
- 4 *Monarchism*, Davies (H)
- 5 *Dr. Barry's Inaugural Power Diet*, Berger (H)
- 6 *A Day in the Life of Canada*, edited by Cohen and Gooden (H)
- 7 *Breaking with Moscow*, Shcherbakov (H)
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The shifting sands of speech

By Stewart MacLeod

When Brian Mulroney maddens his mental waters by usually writing his e-mails from "free trade" to "trade enhancement," while talking of the same thing, and in an official capacity, clearly it is as simple "security of access"—whatever that means—don't for a moment think our Prime Minister and his aides are becoming language lary.

Believe it, they know exactly what they are talking about—just as Pierre Trudeau did when, after getting his good years out of the "Just Society," he suddenly came up with the "New Society." Remember that? The mysterious transformation was interrupted only by Robert Stanfield's 1979 election campaign for his "quality of life" proposition, which, when examined in detail, bore a remarkable resemblance to both the Just and New versions of Trudeau's ideologies.

And a cursory glance at campaign speeches suggests rather strongly that Mulroney's "opening the window of government" is not that far removed from Trudeau's vintage "participatory democracy," which helped propel him to power. And need you be reminded that after 14 years of perfecting this participatory, Trudeau watched as delegates to a 1988 Liberal convention revealed that his "parliamentary wing must be more accountable to the rank and file."

That, however, is a lot of a digression. What we're more interested in here are those shifting sands of speech, those descriptive detours that, when deftly applied, leave the listener with no firm foothold on the original commitments, serious doubts about the revised ones, absolute confusion over their future and, in some cases, uncertainty about whether they had ever existed in the first place.

The system works. Look no further than the Christchurch journalist's fiasco over whether the Mulroneys had a nanny on the public payroll. The issue magically dissolved after we were told it was a non-accusatory "she interviews with the children in a habitual way." It mutated—let that word sink in—into a "she interviews with the children in a habitual way."

When it comes to grasping some precise word or expression for the occasion, this capital city is a veritable Websterland. Where do you think "displacement of goods" came from, for goodness sake?

Stewart MacLeod is national columnist for Thomson News Service.

Ottawa, that's where. And it has a much pier ring, don't you think, that "changing my mind"? It's akin to the American discovery in Lebanon that "personnel casualties" sounded so much more constructive than "casualties."

Then there was the Ottawa bureaucrat who told an information seminar that if the question were properly "grammatically," he would do his best to "disambiguate" it.

An offer no one could refuse.

When the government, its branches or wing (there abouts), issues strange new grammatical stampage, you can safely assume it's no sloppy slip. And the same probably goes for the American CIA, when it dropped the word "idiot" in favor of "terminator with extreme prejudice." Remember, there is undoubtedly a posit explanation for this. And I suspect that, in some way, a similar explanation for why, in our more genteel Canadian way, we "took-out" someone rather than

When the government issues strange new grammatical stampage you can safely assume it's no sloppy slip

give him or her a job. In the past tense, you'd be interested in learning, it becomes "sloppy."

In fact, jobs seem to have disappeared entirely. Even being without one means what you have been "terminated" from the labor force. At least that seems to be "the option of it," which, according to one recent government paper, means the way something is perceived. Presumably, since the option are "officially non-negotiable"—no, we're not kidding—the subject then can be "grammatically," perhaps for an "in-house tongue analysis." That probably tells you how long it might take.

I'll tell you what took a bit of disambiguating. It was a symposium, sponsored by the then-urban affairs ministry back in 1977, designed to "assess and subject to critical debate" philosophies the methodologies underlying the evolution of information technology as a component of urban governance.

That, in the world's biggest nutshell, means: improving communications—and the more descriptive obviously got chucked off to a whole of a start. The announcement of the day said about 150

"attendees" were expected, although that figure might well have been accurately "determined." It seems you never know when to expect gross growth, zero growth or even negative growth in attendance experiences.

Speaking about better communications, the Treasury Board made an effort in this direction with a memo suggesting more official catchphrases. The communication and exchange of ideas on administrative policy matters is encouraged and maintained to optimize the use, mix, content and administrative inputs in program results.

Bang on.

Quick, what's a "sociological boundary"? According to the National Capital Commission, it's a fence. A "natural security fence," incidentally, is an entrance, a privy or whatever other tasteless term turns you on.

In the public works lexicon, I am sure of a "work station" rather than a desk, and I reached it through a "physical freeway," once aesthetically called a corridor. Furthermore, if I were being talked by government, as opposed to free enterprise, I would be following the guidelines of a "positive analysis schedule" until I achieved my "affirmative action objective" or "strategized an implementation." Amazing.

Then there was the informal menu from the shop in the finance department who had been asked for a "lead-work estimate." Sorry, he wrote, "at this point, I can't do better than a rough-and-appraisal." That was no doubt better than an exact one—closer to the ball park, no to speak.

Anyway, with so many of these inventive wordings at the beak and call of the Prime Minister and his cabinet, are we seriously believe that expressions like "trade enhancement" just tumble out accidentally? Or when External Affairs Minister Joe Clark asked the Soviet Union to reform his audience that we share a "security sensitivity," was that a mere afterthought in verbal specificity? No way. At the very least, the former prime minister probably wanted to watch the joint perplexity in the eyes of his Russian translator as he experienced a high-impact interface with what's commonly acknowledged to be mindless feeble misunderstanding.

Let's not feel or sweat over "trade enhancement." It might turn out to be one of the more precise terms we'll be getting.

Allen Pillingworth is an novelist.

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